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# EAST EUROPE REPORT POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS No. 1770

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#### PRIEST HONORED FOR CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL LIBERATION

Tirana RADIO TELEVIZIONI in Albanian No 3, Feb 80 p 4

[Article: "Television Programs"]

[Excerpts] "Papa Kristo Negovani--Teacher of the People" is the title of the broadcast devoted to the 75th anniversary of the assassination by the Greek chauvinists of the patriot and writer of the National Renaissance, Papa Kristo Negovani. He lived at a time when the Albanian National Movement was growing fast. He contributed to this movement by increasing the national awareness of the popular masses by means of education and culture. This was a noble mission when one considers the very difficult conditions existing at that time.

In order to achieve this noble aim in those difficult conditions, he became a priest and succeeded in having religious ceremonies celebrated in the Albanian language, which was a serious blow to the Greek chauvinists of that time and to the Patriarch of Istanbul. One of his ideals was the establishment of an independent Albanian church which would be used for patriotic purposes. He was also concerned with literary activities. In these activities, he defended the Albanian language and spoke out against the fierce domination of the motherland by feudal lords and enemies. Under these conditions, the forces of darkness set their mark on him and on 12 February 1905, he was brutally murdered along with his brothers and some friends.

For his brilliant patriotic qualities, the party and the people gave Papa Kristo Negovani the noble title of "Teacher of the People."

CSO: 2100

## MORE METHODICAL TRAINING OF AIR FORCE PILOTS URGED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30, 31 Jan 80

[Article by Maj Gen Lyuben Leonidov, military pilot first class: "The Educational Expertise of an Aviation Commander"]

[30 Jan 80 p 1]

[Text] Some time ago the senior staff received a report on an investigation of a near accident committed by Engr-Capt P. Avramov. A thorough analysis of what had happened indicated that a major error had been committed in the procedural sequence of instruction. The mentioned officer had arrived from the academy to take up the position of subunit commander. He recovered a portion of his skills on the aviation equipment on which he had flown previously, and moved on to another type of aircraft which he had not flown for a long time. There is nothing especially wrong here if the drive for quantity had not put quality in carrying out the missions in the background. And again the unbreakable rule that firm results in training can be achieved only if training starts from the simplest to the more complicated elements.

Any forcing, without being aware whether the pilot has mastered and firmly established the acquired habits causes harm to combat training and flight safety. Such an approach means to disregard the rich procedural experience acquired by Soviet and Bulgarian fighter aviation over many years. Let us not forget that regardless of the change in the generations of flyers and the receiving of ever more modern combat equipment, in the air formations the old military command of "Do As I Do!" has not lost its sense. And it will not become obsolete as long as the necessity of armed forces exists. Moreover, at present it has acquired new components and demands that the aviation commanders perfectly master the equipment and instructions for its use, that they be efficient and disciplined, and combine high exactingness from their subordinates with affection and constant concern for their ideological and professional growth.

In the last training year, the men from the unit achieved a number of positive results in military and political training. The number of class specialists and of outstanding crews, groups, flights and subunits increased.

This is eloquent proof of the desire of the men with blue shoulder boards to embody specifically in their daily work the party's call for high efficiency and high quality in any activity. At the same time not all the reserves have as yet been disclosed and utilized, and the most fruitful methods of training and indoctrinating the men have not been introduced everywhere.

Among the multiplicity of tasks and other activities which the aviation commanders, the staffs, the political bodies and all the personnel carry out every day, an important factor in the successful mastery of military equipment and weapons by the fliers is the educational skills of the aviation commanders. It is their constant right and duty to teach their subordinates everything which is required in modern combat and for the secure defense of our frontiers.

The example given at the outset eloquently shows what consequences can ensue from reduced demands on the educational skills of the aviation commanders of all ranks. In order to instruct his subordinates, the commander must have a clear notion of who is to be taught and how, he must have a thorough knowledge of the principles of psychology and pedagogics, and possess a rich range of educational skills which guarantee him a maximum positive effect in any concrete situation.

The educational skills of an aviation commander are not any inate quality or secret which only the select few have access to. It is the result of daily constant work carried out by the senior commanders and chiefs in generalizing, analyzing and disseminating the advanced training and indoctrination methods which emerge out of practice. In order to be quite specific, I will use an example. In it you will encounter a name known in a different light.

Several years later in the combat collective where officer Sinapov served, there was a thorough evaluation of the capabilities of the men, and the educational council carefully analyzed the reasons for the incorrect actions in the air and outlined measures to prevent them. Due to all of this, pilots with much less experience coming straight from the air force school in a short period of time were able to successfully move on to more advanced aviation equipment. And officer Avramov also made his first flight on the same type of aircraft. Is any extensive commentary needed to prove the obvious truth that correct training procedures require from the officer leaders great patience, high competence, tenacity and party principledness in achieving the designated goals in training, and for boldly introducing new, more efficient methods in training practices?

As positive examples of strict procedural sequence in pilot training we can also point to officers Georgiev and Yankov who were able to surmount many difficulties of a varying nature and train their trainees in accord with the prescribed program. And let us reemphasize that what has been achieved up to now is only the next step or launching area for a new drive to the peaks of professional expertise.

[31 Jan 80 p 1]

[Text] In order to have the moral right to teach others, the commander must be a model to imitate. He must expertly pilot the aircraft or helicopter under any meteorological conditions, he must hit the airborne and ground targets under any situation, and he must be able to explain and demonstrate how this is done in practice. Officers Sinapov, Kalchev, Tsokov and others have such authority among their subordinates.

The combat formula of the famous Soviet flier Aleksandr Pokryshkin "Altitude--Speed--Maneuver--Fire" has acquired a particular meaning for an aviation commander. He must know and be able to do more than his trainees, he must continuously improve his knowledge and skills, and must show particular attention to changes in the tactics of combined arms and air combat.

At present a predominant majority of our fliers have a higher engineering education and good theoretical preparation. At first glance this makes it easier for the commanders who must merely give them the flight missions and to get them during independent studies to study well the corresponding courses for combat training, as well as the procedural aids and instructions. But experience has shown that some young pilots still do not sufficiently master the methods for working with training literature, and are not always able to properly prepare for the flights. Individual flight and subunit commanders are still not fully aware that one of their most important service duties is to teach their subordinates to correctly allocate their attention and time in carrying out preflight preparations, and to advise them on what to focus their basic efforts at the given moment.

Description and demonstration in the air are a tested method in the training of air fighters. In speaking to his trainee, the instructor provides necessary details for his ideas drawn from the military preparation course and the special literature, he explains to the trainee how various switches and other equipment in the cockpit are operated in carrying out one or another flight element, and draws his attention to particular cases during a flight and how he must act in such a situation. It is particularly important that what the instructor says does not run contrary to the flight instructions but rather is a demonstration of conformity to what has been said. The strength of training methods lies in the unity between word and action.

One of the decisive indicators of combat maturity for the commanders is their tactical expertise. Many of our commanders excel in developed tactical thought and the ability to flawlessly assess a complicated, rapidly changing air and ground situation, and to act decisively in utilizing the most rational techniques for carrying out their given mission. But there still are some officers who must be reminded that the organization of tactical exercises requires without fail consistent educational methods in studying the subjects, with a gradual increase in complexity.

Particularly high are the demands placed upon the tactical training of the sniper pilots, the masters of the combat use of the airplanes and helicopters, and the first-class pilots. Each flight by them to intercept an airborne target, to fire at an airborne or ground target must serve as an example for the younger fliers of a creative solution to the most complicated tactical missions under a situation as close as possible to combat.

The flight analyses are a true school for the educational skills of the junior aviation commanders. In them they learn to report briefly and exhaustively, and to draw conclusions from their observations on the basis of data from the objective monitoring devices. This provides an opportunity for the commanders to correctly assess the actions of the crews in the air, and to determine the level of their flying, gunnery and tactical training.

A correct flight analysis is carried out after all the materials from the flight shift have been assembled, processed and thoroughly analyzed, and the reasons for any shortcomings and near accidents have been disclosed. As a rule a full analysis is ordinarily made prior to the giving of the missions for the following flying day or night. But still the analysis does not hold its proper place in the general system for generalizing the results of carrying out the flight missions. Not all the commanders during the analysis use the data from the objective monitoring devices and these best show the picture of the flight and the actions of the fliers on the ground and in the air. Apparently these officers feel that there is no reason to waste so much time in deciphering their several tapes, and it is easier the old way. But adhering to the "good old times" of prop and subsonic aviation inevitably will end in failure. Any oversight in training procedures directly jeopardizes flight safety.

The most significant indicator for the social, moral and command maturity of an officer leader is a high feeling of responsibility to the party and the government and to all the people. The successful creation of air fighters who are completely developed in political and professional terms depends most upon the commander. High and permanent successes are achieved by those commanders who constantly and purposefully work to improve themselves, and put their every action under strict scrutiny. Their essential traits are high discipline, professional competence, professionalism, efficiency, a firm will and tenacity, loyalty to military duty and a constant desire to improve their knowledge and abilities.

Command personnel is a crucial element in troop leadership. They are influenced by all those significant changes which are occurring in our socialist society and in the Bulgarian People's Army. But what characterizes the present state of the military personnel can become insufficient for tomorrow's development of the army, aviation and navy. For precisely this reason, the party constantly demands that the officers always be up to the level of modern military theory and practice, that they continuously improve their methods of leading the troops on the basis of the creative application of the most recent scientific and technical achievements.

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# SIGNIFICANCE OF OPERATIONAL POWER SYSTEM IN TIME OF WAR

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 11, 1979 pp 10-12

Tricle by Engr Stefan Damyanov, candidate of technical sciences: "The Latric Power System in a Critical Situation"]

[Text] The electric power system (EES) represents an aggregate of electric plants, substations and consumers interconnected by power transmission lines. It is designed to supply the national economy with electric power. For this reason the problem of the uninterrupted operation of the EES during a wartime situation is of exceptional significance. In this critical situation, the EES has the responsible task of producing the planned volume of electric energy and transmitting it to the consumers, and with slight and medium damage and a partial disruption of the deliveries of fuel, materials and so forth, to restore power production within a short time.

The problem of the role and importance of the operational and dispatcher personnel (ODP) and its activities with the equipment and automation for ensuring reliable operation of the EES in a critical situation is of exceptional significance both in a peacetime situation and also in an eventual war. The experience of World War II has shown that the belligerents endeavor to cause as much damage as possible to the enemy power producing enterprises, on the one hand, and to maintain (or even increase) their own electric power capacity, on the other. During the Great Patriotic War, beseiged Leningrad received electric power over a cable which the Soviet combat engineers laid across the bottom of Lake Ladoga under Nazi fire. The modern sectors of defense industry could not exist without a sufficient quantity of electric power.

In wartime, virtually all the sectors of the economy must produce products under extremely taut production plans, and this requires an even greater amount of electric power. While in other sectors it is possible even in peacetime to stockpile the necessary supplies of finished products or semi-finished materials, it is impossible to create reserves of electric power, since the processes of its generation and consumption occur simultaneously in the EES.

At present the socialist countries, including Bulgaria, possess powerful EES which are one of the basic factors in ensuring the military and technical defense measures. The EES of the Warsaw Pact states are interconnected into the unified Peace EES with a total installed capacity of over 85 million kilowatts and annual production of 408 billion kilowatt hours of electric power. Effective control of the EES is carried out by the dispatcher services which are distributed on different hierarchical levels, including the rayon dispatcher services (RDS), the territorial dispatcher services (TDS) and the central dispatcher service (TSDS). Operational control over the united Peace EES has been entrusted to the Central Dispatcher Administration (TSDU) in Prague.

The occurrence of the production process in the EES to a very large degree depends upon the system, upon its positive and negative "human" traits. In bearing in mind the scale of development for the EES and their strategic role and significance for the economy and defense capability, one can see the exceptionally high responsibility which the ODP bears in carrying out its functional duties. The dispatcher is the "commander" of hundreds of thousands or even millions of kilowatts of electric capacity (the equivalent of the total capacity of tens of thousands of motor vehicles). In a wartime situation, he must allocate and direct the flow of energy to certain installations which are of the greatest significance for defense. With a surprise attack, the dispatcher on duty in a few minutes or even seconds must take responsible decisions concerning the necessary switching in the EES. Not a single installation or element of the EES (the power plant, substation, transformer, line, safety devices, automation and so forth) can be shut down or turned on without permission from the dispatche... With incorrect decisions by the dispatcher, a disruption can follow in the parallel operation of production units and a break own of a portion or the entire EES, and this entails severe consequences for the economy and for national defense. An example of such a dispatcher error and the ensuing consequer es was the so-called "emergency of the century" which occurred on 9 November 1965 in the EES of the United States and Canada. For 12 hours, life was completely paralyzed in eight states of the United States and a portion of Canada, and in the entire American Northeast with a territory of 200,000 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of over 30 million persons.

While in peacetime only about 20 percent of the emergencies in the EES are due to mistakes by the operating personnel, in wartime the percentage of subjective errors will increase significantly. During this period the psyche of the OPD is strained to a degree which entails a risk of incorrect actions.

The limited reliability of a person as a controlling factor of the EES in a critical situation raises the question of the need to create a total automatic control system for the EES. Scientific and technical progress in the area of physics, electrical engineering, electronics and particularly the introduction of electronic computers have caused certain specialists to make the hurried conclusion that full automation is possible in the EES where most of the processes occur according to the established phenomena

and laws of physics and electrical engineering. This conclusion has been fostered by the concept of metaphysical (Laplacian) determinism according to which in the objective world there exist only causally-necessary, that is only simply necessary ties. This hurried conclusion has also been aided by the circumstance that the hydropower plants (VETs) to a significant degree can be automated.

However, the notion of the full automation of the EES is fundamentally incorrect. In terms of its structure the EES is a complicated, indefinite large-sized probability system. Its behavior cannot be described algorithmically, and because of this it cannot be fully automated, that is, without the involvement of man (the ODP). Along with objective trends, the EES is also influenced by a large number of indeterminate factors which can assist or oppose the development and functioning of this system.

With natural disasters (earthquakes, hurricanes, freezing over, and so forth) and particularly in wartime, the range of indefinite and random factors influencing the operation of the EES becomes wider. Depending upon the type of ambiguities introduced in the behavior of the EES there is a certain difference between a natural disaster and war. With a disaster the enemy of man is nature itself. The particular feature in its behavior is that it changes its state ("its strategy") according to a completely random law, without "endeavoring" to cause a maximum loss. Nature has neither interests which oppose nor coincide with those of man. In this sense it is a "neutral" enemy of man, of his productive forces and, respectively, the EES. Einstein said "nature is harsh but it is not perfidious."

In contrast to a natural disaster, war represents a conflict situation in which the warring sides or groupings have opposing aims and interests. Each of the opponents endeavors to damage the military economic potential and respectively the EES of the other side, and at the same time tries to maintain the necessary level of its military economic potential and to have a stable electric generating process in its own EES. This objective tendency influences the management of the economy and, respectively, the EES.

Regardless of the action of the designated trend, however, in wartime the range of arising uncertainties which will effect the state, management and operation of the EES will be greatly broadened. For example, with a nuclear strike, all the injurious factors in various ways and to a differing degree and scale will effect the EES. Even if we consider only the influence of the horizontal component from the electric field of the electromagnetic impulse (EMI) with an air explosion:

 $Em_{hor} = A(\epsilon).B(q).C(h).D(R)$ 

<sup>\*</sup>The functions B(q), C(h) and D(R) determine the dependence of Emhor upon the power q, the height h of the nuclear explosion and the distance R from the center of the explosion to a point to which the field intensity is calculated.

a probability function of  $A(\varepsilon)$  is reached and this varies in broad limits.

From this it follows that the EES in peacetime and even more in wartime is an indeterminate and probability system, due to which the effectiveness of its control can be carried out only with the participation of man. On the other hand, inherent to human activities are a number of shortcomings in comparison with the machine (automation). These include the slow response speed (while a machine has a minimum delay of several microseconds, man is characterized by a delay of around 200 milliseconds). Moreover, a man is negatively influenced by many factors such as his physical and mental state, the degree of fatigue, the ergonomic situation, the events expected by him, the degree of his professional, moral-political and mental preparedness, and so forth. These factors will show their influence particularly strongly in wartime.

From this it follows that the effective control of the EES is impossible to carry out separately from man or from whatever the technical system of automatic control (SAU) is, no matter how advanced it may be. Only with the purposeful and able use of the equipment by man, that is, only through an automated control system (ASU) is it possible to control the EES. Man and the SAU are subsystems (components) of the ASU. Regardless of the fact that there are qualitative differences between these components, in the ASU they are in a strictly determined relationship as the "parts" of a functional "whole," and in a dialectical unity and interaction whereby man plays the decisive role.

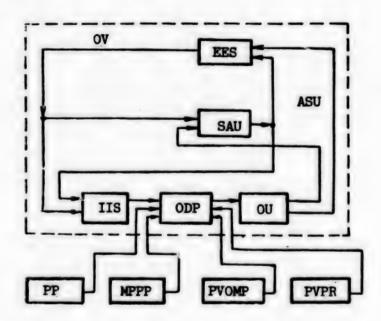
It is wrong to make a fetish out of technology. It is also absurd to consider man and technology as opposites, for example, the dispatcher and the control board. Even with the apparently quite insignificant involvement in control, man remains the principal of labor with his own motives of action and aware of the aims and tasks of his activities. On the other hand, the most complicated machine, including an electronic computer, is only the object or implement of labor needed by man to carry out the tasks given him. The specific features of the man (the operator or dispatcher) consist in the fact that he understands the goal of the EES, that is, the desired state of its output, and is able to participate in the work of the system at that point where an obstacle is encountered.

Due to his social experience, man possesses the ability to solve in the best possible manner the task of integrating the processes in the entire EES. In the role of the executor of the taken decisions, man possesses the ability to quickly and easily alter the methods of their realization.

The ASU, in contrast to the SAU, is characterized by a number of particular features, the fruit of human activity. For example, in the ASU, there are reserves for compensating for the unforeseen failures of the EES, the effects of which are not known ahead of time. In addition, through the ASU it is possible to have the work of EES adapted to the necessary pace of carrying out a production plan. Consequently, through the ASU it is possible to provide steady effective control and operation of the EES at any

time, including in wartime. However, in the latter instance it is essential to pay serious attention to the recruitment and preliminary vocational-practical, moral-political and psychological preparation of the ODP for working in critical situations. In this regard, the Civil Defense bodies bear particular responsibility and obligations.

The question of a structural scheme for the ASU to control the EES is significantly more complicated than that of the structural scheme of the SAU, since in the first instance it is essential to also reflect the role of the PDP with its characteristic "human" traits. Under wartime conditions this question is further complicated due to the additional influence of a wartime situation on the human psyche.



On the basis of the approach of ergonomics and human factors engineering, the role of man in the ASU can be represented as an element in the structural scheme of the system. The figure shows a variation of a structural scheme for controlling the EES in wartime. In addition to the elements which are characteristic for the peacetime control of the EES, the given scheme shows the negative psychic effect which the wartime situation has on the ODP, on the one hand, and the basic directions for providing defense against this effect, on the other. The abbreviations of the schematic elements have the following meanings: IIS--the information and display devices including telephone, radio and television communications; OU-con-rol trols; SAU--automatic control system; OV--feedback; PVOMP--the psychic effect of weapons of mass destruction on the ODP; PVPR--the psychic effect of professional risk for ensuring the continuous operation of the EES under wartime conditions. (The PVPR also influences the ODP in peacetime, but in a wartime situation this is much more strongly felt due to the direct dependence of defense capability in the nation upon the operation of the

EES.) PP--the professional preparedness of the ODP to control the EES in wartime; MPPP--the moral, political and psychic preparation of the ODP.

In the structural diagram one can see that while the PVOMP and PVPR factors immediately operate in a negative (unfavorable) direction of the performed control process of the EES, the PP and MPPP factors operate immediately in a positive (favorable) direction. From the viewpoint of the consistency of the effects on the ODP, it is quite logical that the PP and MPPP measures must anticipate the PVOMP and PVPR factors which are expected in a wartime situation. As a rule the former must be carried out in peacetime under the leadership and supervision of the Civil Defense bodies.

In conclusion it must be emphasized that with the further development of automation in the EES production process, the role of man in control will not only not decline, but on the contrary, will increase further, since the range of tasks which must be carried out by the ASU will become continuously more complicated for many reasons, including those of a military defense nature. In the future man will remain the most important command unit and the initiator of creative decisions in controlling the EES, including in a wartime situation or in any other critical situation. For this reason the role and responsibility of the Civil Defense bodies will grow continuously in training the ODP for operating the EES.

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# SUGGESTED FIRST AII TETHODS AGAINST TOXIC CHEMICALS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 11, 1979 pp 12-13

[Article by Dr Setka Andreeva, chief assistant on the Chair for Medical and Sanitary Protection under the Medical Academy: "First Aid With Contamination by Combat Toxins and Industrial Toxins in Emergency Situations"]

[Text] The present-day achievements of science are being used by the capitalist countries to improve various types of weapons of mass destruction. Among them chemical weapons are the major concern. There are virtually no arguments which are not being used by the capitalist authorities to legitimize and morally justify these weapons.

The main aims of modern scientific research in the area of chemical weapons come down to the discovery of toxins with exceptionally high toxicity which is manifested in both minimal doses and has a lethal effect. The basic representatives of this type of toxin act quickly and even instantaneously, while others have a latent period and manifest their lethal effect more slowly. Another area in the development of modern scientific research is to discover and synthesize toxins with a temporary effect, that is, to put out of action the enemy personnel and population for a brief period, without causing death.

The representatives of the toxins for which prompt aid and mutual aid are of particular importance include: the neuroparalytic combat toxins (sarin, soman and the V-gases), general toxins (prussic acid and certain of its derivatives) with a delayed action, the suffocants (phosgen and diphosgen) and the skin-resorptive agents (yperites). These toxins can enter the organism through the lungs in inhalation, through the skin (even without being damaged), through the exposed mucous membranes (eyes) or through the gastrointestinal tract with the ingestion of contaminated foods, water, and so forth. They contaminate any living being which comes into contact with them in the area of chemical contamination. In man changes are observed depending upon the type of toxin, with disruptions of the important vital functions such as breathing and blood circulation. Very soon after contact with the toxin, death occurs if effective first aid is not provided.

A characteristic feature of first aid with toxic contamination is the requirement that it be carried out as quickly as possible (in the first several minutes), and on the other, the measures be known for saving the contaminated persons. This presupposes a good knowledge of the mechanism of action of the various representatives of the combat toxins and their early and specific indications.

A combination of these two basic requirements (on the one hand quick, and on the other, specific first aid) can be carried out only if the aid is provided on the level of mutual aid and aid to oneself. With the expected mass nature of the arising wartime (or peacetime production emergency) contaminated areas, it is not possible to promptly provide medical first aid to the casualties by the mass formations or by the medical bodies, without counting on mutual aid and self-help.

From this standpoint it is essential that the entire population can provide first aid both in wartime and in peacetime conditions considering emergency situations with industrial toxins. For this reason, along with training the mass Civil Defense formations in our nation, the population is also being instructed in medical and sanitary protection. In this manner, simultaneously with mastering the necessary minimum of theoretical knowledge, practical skills and knowledge are assimilated on the correct carrying out and providing of self-help and mutual aid in a chemical strike area or with emergency peacetime situations. Of essential significance also is the material provisioning of the population with the necessary means to provide first aid, as this is specific for the various chemical substances.

What are the basic specific ways and features in providing self-help, mutual aid or first aid by the Civil Defense formations to persons contaminated by chemical agents?

With all types of toxins, one should immediately halt the further entry of the toxin into the organism. For this purpose the first thing which is done is to put on a gas mask or to change it if it turns out that it is not in proper working order. Combat toxins which have fallen on the skin are removed by partial personal cleansing of the exposed areas of the skin. This is done mechanically by absorption and gas decontamination. For partial personal cleansing usually solvents and weak oxidants are used and these are contained in the individual protective kit (IZP). With the absence of such a kit, solutions of ammonia, baking soda, bleach and others can be prepared and used.

The giving of specific medicines to counteract the toxin which has penetrated the organism (antidotes) is one of the most essential first aid measures. The promptest use of the antidotes (even in the first minutes after intoxication) in the form of self-help or mutual aid can guarantee the saving of the victims. For this reason not only the mass Civil Defense formations but also the workers must know the specific antidotes for the various chemical poisons and the methods of employing them. For this purpose in the strike area ordinarily syringe ampules are used and these

contain the antidote for neuroparalytic toxins, or ordinary ampules are used which contain the antidote for other fast-acting combat toxins (hydrogen cyanide). These are given intramuscularly (the syringe ampule) or are crushed and their contents is inhaled (the other ampules) depending upon the type of toxin. In this instance any loss of time can be fatal.

A larger part of the toxins disrupt the respiratory functions of the organism. The halting or weakening of respiration is an immediate indication of emergency measures and particularly for applying artificial respiration. This can be performed only as mutual aid or first aid, if the mass Civil Defense formations have arrived in the chemical strike area. Of the various methods of artificial respiration, the "mouth-to-mouth" or "mouth-to-nose" methods are recommended, as the existing resistance in the respiratory system must be overcome (for example, bronchospasm with intoxication by the neuroparalytic toxins). It is essential to have a good mastery of the procedures of this method, and in practical training of the population particular attention is to be paid to work with the "Phantom" [?a practice dummy), and to remember that this method cannot be applied in a contaminated atmosphere, but must be used outside the strike area.

In the industrially developed nations, including our own, major industrial accidents must be added to the peacetime disaster situations such as earthquakes, floods, fires and so forth. Here chemical contaminated areas can arise with a complicated situation. Secondary contaminated areas may also develop with the destruction of industrial installations in wartime.

Considering the specific features chiefly of the chemical industry under our conditions, it is imperative to have a good knowledge of the particular features of intoxication with the production of chlorine, ammonia, nitrous oxides, sulfides and certain other substances. With emergencies involving them, contaminated areas are created which are characterized by a sudden development and rapid spread of the toxin. Then two zones are created: the zone of immediate contamination (with a lethal concentration) and the zone of a contaminating concentration (with a brief action of the contaminating agent). Immediate aid on the spot must be provided to everyone who has been caught in the emergency area. In this instance again the measures of first aid, self-help and mutual aid should be provided. To a significant degree the outcome of the poisoning depends on this.

In these instances the measures to provide first aid in principle do not differ from the actions which would be carried out with poisoning by combat toxins. It is essential to bring the victims into uncontaminated air (if this is possible) or to put individual protective gear on the victim to prevent the penetration of the toxin into the respiratory system. For this purpose an industrial gas mask is used with a breathing box for the appropriate toxin, eventually an ordinary gas mask, or at worst any available device from soft material saturated with the corresponding substance. The victim is quickly evacuated (he walks, is led or is carried) out of the contaminated zone; tight clothing is removed; he is warmed in front of a heater; with disturbances in breathing, artificial respiration is applied

(until breathing resumes), in realizing, however, that with certain toxins such as chlorine, nitrous oxides and others, when the lungs are damaged, artificial respiration is contraindicated; with shortness of breath or if the skin turns blue, at the first opportunity the poisoned person is given oxygen.

If the toxin has penetrated through the skin, the dirty clothing is removed and the body is washed well with warm water. If the eyes have been contaminated, they are washed out abundantly with pure water. If the toxin has been taken orally, an attempt is made to induce vomiting (for example by giving a large arount of lukewarm water).

It is essential to rapidly seek and provide skilled medical aid to save the life and work capability of the victims.

Chemistry can be turned from a science which serves the interests of mankind into an enemy of man both in peacetime and in wartime. For this reason, along with the struggle to ban chemical weapons and build technically safe plants, it is essential that the population have a good knowledge of the particular features of the injuries caused by chemical substances and be trained to apply the methods of self-help and mutual aid.

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CSO: 2200

## HAVEL DISCUSSES CSSR DISSIDENT MOVEMENT

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 3, 14 Jan 80 pp 126-130

[Excerpts from Vaclav Havel's book: "An Experiment in Living in Truth.
On the Power of the Powerless"]

[Text] A greengrocer refuses one day to display his shop window banners advocating class struggle; a brewery manager decides to resist party officials--resistance begins with "acts of limited scope" in daily life, says the Czechoslovak author and critic of the regime Vaclav Havel. In an essay Havel, who was sentenced to 4 and 1/2 years imprisonment for "subversive activity, undermining the republic and inciting to activity hostile to the state" describes his "Experiment in Living in Truth." Excerpts:

A manager of a Prague grocery displayed a banner with the inscription "Proletarians of the World Unite" among onions and carrots of his shop window.

The enterprise delivered the banner to our grocer together with onions and carrots and he simply displayed it in the shop window as he has always done, because everybody does it and because that is the way it has to be. Had he not done it he could have had difficulties; somebody could even have accused him of disloyalty.

But the slogan on the banner also serves as a message which can be interpreted in this way:

Here I am, grocer X.Y., and I know what I have to do. I behave as is expected of me; I am reliable and above reproach; I am obedient and, therefore, have the right to live in peace.

Of course, this message also has its addressee: It is addressed to those "above," to the grocer's superiors and is at the same time a shield behind which the grocer hides to protect himself from potential informers.

Now let us assume that one day the grocer refuses to display banners which he used to do simply to ingratiate himself; that he decides not to participate in elections because he knows that they are a sham; that he decides to say at meetings what he really believes and summons the courage to express solidarity with the people whom his conscience commands him to.

By such a rebellion the grocer will have ceased "living a lie," refused the ritual and violated the rules of the game. He will regain his suppressed identity and dignity and live in freedom. His rebellion will be an experiment in living in truth.

He will promptly have to pay for his action: He will lose his job and be demoted to a driver's helper of a delivery van. His salary will be reduced. He will have to give up hope of spending his vacations in Bulgaria. He will have to put the educational prospects of his children into jeopardy. He will have exposed himself to chicaneries from his superiors and his coworkers will wonder about him.

In reality the grocer has not committed a mere individual offense, a onetime transgression, but something incomparably more serious: by breaking the rules of the game he has abolished the game as such. He has offended the power structure by exposing its empty pretenses; he has demonstrated that "living a lie" is what it means.

But since all real problems and symptoms of an existing crisis are hidden under a thick layer of lies it is never quite clear which is the proverbial last drop which will cause the barrel to overflow and what kind of drop it will be. Therefore, the power structure persecutes preventively and almost automatically every attempt at living in truth.

The deadly mask of "living a lie" is made of strange material—as long as the cover over the society is airtight it seems to be made of stone. But the moment somebody pierces it in a single spot and cries "The Emperor Is Naked" and a single player breaks the rules and exposes it as a game, everything appears in a different light and the mask suddenly appears to be made of paper about to disintegrate inexorably into small bits.

Since the beginning of the Husak reign in 1969 the appearance of the Charter 77 movement has without a doubt been the most important political event in Czechoslovakia. The psychological climate for this act was not created by any specific political event but by the trial of a group of musicians called The Plastic People, a court proceeding which did not represent a clash of two political blocs or conceptions but of two philosophies:

On one hand was the sterile puritanism of the establishment, on the other unknown young people who wanted nothing else but to live in truth: To play music which was to their liking and sing about their real life; they wanted to be free, live in dignity and brotherhood.

They were people without a political past, not declared political opponents with political ambitions, no former politicians deprived of their power. These people had every opportunity to conform, accept "living a lie" and live a peaceful and secure life. But they decided otherwise.

They owe the tremendous attention which the political organs and the police have been paying dissidents, and which perhaps might give some people the impression that the government fears the dissidents as a potential alternative power structure, to the circumstance that they are "ordinary people" coping with "ordinary" problems who differ from the others only by saying out loud what the others cannot say or do not have the courage to say.

Way back, when Bohemia and Slovakia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and our nations had neither factual, political nor psychosocial opportunities to find their identity outside the limits of this empire, T.G. Masaryk based the Czech national program on the idea of "enlightening the people," which means on honest and responsible work in various fields within the framework of the existing order aimed at raising national consciousness.

Naturally, special emphasis was placed on enlightening people, on training, education, morality and humanism. Hasaryk saw the only avenue leading to a more dignified national future in the creation of conditions which enabled people to elevate themselves to a more dignified human existence. To Masaryk changing people was the way to changing the situation of the nation.

This concept of "work for the nation" has taken root in our society; it has been successful in many respects and is still alive today. Aside from those who use this concept to hide their collaboration there are still many people who abide by it and have indisputably been successful—at least in some fields.

But enlightenment work is clashing increasingly with the system and it faces a dilemma--people have to either give in, compromise their honest, responsible and consistent stand, in other words, conform (attitude of the majority), or stick to their principles and unavoidably face a confrontation with the powers-to-be (attitude of the minority).

In 1974, when I was employed in the brewery, I had a superior, a certain Sch. He was a man who knew his work, was proud of it and wanted to brew good beer in our brewery. He spent almost all his time at the brewery, was constantly inventing various improvements and tortured us with it because he assumed that we all loved brewing beer as he did.

In the midst of the uncaring attitude characterizing socialism it is difficult to visualize a man with a more constructive attitude to work than Sch. The management of the brewery, consisting of people who knew less about their jobs and liked them less but had greater political influence, kept merrily working the brewery into the ground.

Things came to the point where Sch. was left with no other choice but writing a long letter to higher authorities in which he attempted to analyze all malptractices in the brewery, explain truthfully why it was the worst brewery in the country and named those responsible for the mismanagement.

His voice could have been heard. The politically powerful manager who knew nothing about brewing beer was involved in intrigues and hated workers, could bave been replaced and conditions at the brewery could have improved as a result of Sch.'s initiative. Had this happened it certainly would have been an example of successful "work with a limited scope."

Unfortunately, exactly the oprosite happened: The brewery manager--a member of the party kraj committee--nad good connections above and made sure of a favourable result: The analysis written by Sch. was declared to be defamatory and Sch. stigmatized as a political enemy.

He was thrown out of the brewery and transferred to another to work as a laborer. Sch. "excluded" himself by telling the truth. He violated the rules and ended up as a second class citizen with the sign of Cain on his forehead.

Therefore, one does not become a "dissident" by suddenly deciding to become one, but by being cast into this category by one's feeling of responsibility combined with a whole set of circumstances.

Such an individual is removed from the existing structure and brought into conflict with it. At the start this intention was nothing else but an endeavor to perform his work conscientiously—only to end up with the sign of Cain as an enemy.

Our grocer's attempt "to live in truth" can simply be attributed to his decision to stop doing some things:

He no longer flies a flag from his window to please the janitor who could denounce him for it; he no longer participates in elections which he considers to be fake; he no longer hides his opinion from his superior. His attempt can thus be limited to a "mere" refusal to comply with some demands of the system (which, of course, are not trifles).

But such an attempt can go further: The grocer can start doing something tangible, something exceeding the mere personal refusal to be manipulated whereby he expresses his newly found "higher responsibility."

For example, he can organize his fellow workers to defend their common interests. He can write letters to various institutions and point out the misdeeds and injustices of his work environment. He can get hold of unauthorized literature, copy it and lead it to his friends.

Of course, not every attempt to live in truth is automatically dissident.

On the contrary: In the original and beader meaning of the words "to live in truth" represents a broad, not easily circumscribed area of small actions which is hard to define.

Most of these attempts do not go any further than the refusal to be manipulated: An individual simply makes a stand and decides to live--as a person--a more dignified life.

Only occasionally a coherent and easily recognizable initiative will exceed the limits of "mere" individual rebellion and result in intentional, specifically structured, purposeful activity. When this stage is reached and "life in truth" ceases to be "mere" negation of "living a lie" but becomes a creative act then the "independent spiritual, social and political life of society" is born.

What subsequently is called "citizen initiative," "dissident movement" or even "opposition" emerges--as the proverbial tip of the iceberg--only from this independent life of society.

The system wages a global war on persons who face it alone, are deserted and isolated. Therefore, it is only natural that all "dissident movements" are of a clearly defensive nature: They protect people and the true interests of life against the interests of the system.

Today the Polish KOR is called the Committee for Social Self-Defense; the word "defense" can also be found in the names of other similar groups in Poland, but also the Soviet Helsinki groups and our Charter 77 are of a similar defensive nature.

Judged by traditional political criteria such defense can appear to be an understandable yet minimalist, a negative recourse of last resort which fails to confront the existing concept, model or ideology with alternatives.

I believe that this approach is the result of limits of traditional optics because the existing system does not represent a specific political line of an actual government but something fundamentally different:

It is a complex deep and permanent degradation or self-degradation of the life of society. Any attempt to resist this system by confronting its policy with some other policy and trying to change the government would thus be not only completely unrealistic but primarily also inadequate.

Sometimes we must reach the bottom of despair to get at the truth--just as we see the stars only at the bottom of a well. In my opinion this "minimalist" and "negative" program of last resort--the simple defense of human dignity--is the most positive and maximalist program:

It finally channels politics again to the only point from which it can start anew if it is to avoid the old mistakes--namely to the living human being.

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CSO: 2300

FISCHER ON FOREIGN POLICY: CREATING CONDITIONS FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 9, 16 Jan 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Fischer Underscores Interest of the GDR in 'Normal' Relations With the FRG." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article by Oskar Fischer cited below follows this report]

[Text] GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer has explicitly underscored the GDR's interest in "normal" relations with the FRG, in an article in the East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK [No 1, 1980]. Since the signing of the Basic Treaty, he said, relations between the GDR and the FRG had become "more normal" and less interference with detente had resulted from them. The FRG government too had had to realize it could not evade "normal" relations with the GDR. They were possible only on the basis of international law. The interstate accords and agreements concluded meanwhile "on its basis, i.e., on the basis of peaceful co-existence" were the "business foundation" which would strictly have to be respected. The GDR's attitude, in other words, was "clear and intelligible for everyone." The GDR would continue to do all it could to turn the relations between the two German states into "a building block for a structure of European and international peace." The success of it thus depended on the FRG.

#### Better Relations With FRG Stressed

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 25 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 28 Nov 79 pp 3-22

[Article by Oskar Fischer, member, SED Central Committee; GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs: "Safeguarding Favorable International Conditions for Building Socialism—Fundamental Task of GDR Foreign Policy." For a translation of a recent article by Oskar Fischer on GDR-FRG relations see JPRS 74617, 21 Nov 79 No 1739 of this series, pp 34-42. Translations of two other recent articles on GDR policy toward FRG are published in the following JPRS issues of this series: 74617, 21 Nov 79 No 1739 pp 43-59 and 74753, 12 Dec 79 No 1746 pp 64-75]

[Text] A science conference dealing with the subject "Safeguarding Favorable International Conditions for Building Socialism—Fundamental Task of GDR Foreign Policy" was held on 5 November 1979 at the International Relations Institute of the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence in Potsdam—Babelsberg. In the presence of ambassadors of socialist states, professors, lecturers, executives of the GDR Foreign Ministry, of the International Contacts Department under the SED Central Committee and of the Institute on Experiences and Tasks in Foreign Policy Practice and Research conferred.

During the stimulating exchange of scientific views, chaired by Prof Dr St. Doernberg, director of the Institute for International Relations, the deputy chief of the International Contacts Department under the SED Central Committee, A. Marter, Deputy Foreign Minister B. Neugebauer, professors J. Krueger, M. Mueller and W. Sproete, department chiefs in the Foreign Affairs Ministry H. Ziebart and H. Plaschke and other theoreticians and practitioners in foreign policy spoke.

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer made available to our editorial board extensive excerpts from his speech for publication.

The 30th anniversary of the founding of our state was a mirror image of its worldwide renown. The GDR is a solid member of the socialist community, a country that has learned conclusive lessons from history and has gained respect as a committed fellow combatant for peace and security in Europe. The road taken after the destruction of fascism and the founding of the first German workers and farmers state was the one that gave our people the historic chance for a respected and permanently secure existence. Those celebrations, attended by the highest representatives of the fraternal socialist countries, and mainly the presence of a USSR party and government delegation, headed by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev, attested to the fact that the GDR people has made the best of its chance. That turned the 30th GDR anniversary into a celebration for the entire socialist community. L. I. Brezhnev found words of high tribute and appreciation for the communists and for all the people in the GDR who--as he said--are reliable companions in the struggle for our common cause, are loyal to the high ideals we share.

The representatives of many states in Asia, Africa and Latin America and broad circles of the peace-loving public in all countries took our anniversary for an occasion to demonstrate their relationship with the GDR publicly. Unanimous recognition and tribute was paid to the antifascist character and, thus, to the consistent peace policy of the GDR and to its anti-imperialist solidarity and its successful socialist transformation of all areas of public life.

These October days in 1979 were given their special imprint by the proclamation of an initiative in the GDR capital that has a lasting effect on the peace and happiness of the nations. At a time when world politics stands at crossroads crucial for the future of humanity, it once again is socialism that is pointing to the only course that is reasonable because it is peaceful: the nations' security, not through more armaments and weapons but through disarmament and cooperation. This Berlin message from Leonid Brezhnev, endorsed a millionfold by our citizens' signatures, must be given worldwide attention.

On the Unity of Domestic and Foreign Policy

Socialist domestic and foreign policy belong together indissolubly. To the communists this is the unity between steadily strengthening the socialist state and insuring its external security as the precondition for the successful shaping of socialist society.

Thus the SED always plans and implements domestic and foreign policy as a whole. This unified strategy is our republic's constitutional guideline which outlines the vital interests of our nation and sets down the tasks our socialist state has in the revolutionary world process.

Socialist domestic and foreign policy are mutually interdependent. The GDR's international respect is based mainly on our working people's impressive achievements in the building of the socialist social system.

Our stable political and economic development, the successes we have had in public education and science, the unfolding of socialist democracy, the blossoming of our towns and communities, our rich cultural and intellectual life, our progress in sports—these internal factors are the ones that successfully sustain and support GDR foreign policy. Conversely, our foreign policy furthers the development of socialist society and helps—while relying on the experiences the fraternal states have had in socialist and communist construction—in the extensive unfolding of the advantages of socialism, protected from the clutches of imperialism.

Safeguarding the dialectical unity of domestic and foreign policy means coping with the new and growing demands on socialist construction as on the international class conflict. That task is as concrete as it is timely. It is clear enough that the implementation of our sociopolitical program increasingly depends on how well we succeed under the complicated world economic conditions in solving our foreign economy tasks. As communists we are optimistic about it, for we do know how great the material and intellectual potentials of socialist creativity and cooperation are that can be brought to bear on it.

The construction of the developed socialist society is furthered by the fraternal countries' purposeful socialist economic integration. As socialist economic integration proceeds, there are also greater possibilities for countering harm threatening from the policy of imperialism and its crisis manifestations.

Our republic is part of the revolutionary world process. Proletarian internationalism, solidarity and international friendship are the norms of our life. Our people has always received solidarity and always exercised solidarity.

Our international policy, borne by the internationalist attitude of all the citizens in our state, is the German communists' contribution to the revolutionary conflict in the last quarter of our century.

Thirty years GDR foreign policy has meant three decades of continual and dynamic international struggle. The continuity in the objectives of our struggle refers primarily to our steady contribution to strengthening the socialist community and consolidating its unity; our solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces and those forces that are struggling for national and social liberation; constant defense against imperialist designs at interference, softening up or eliminating socialism, which also pertains to the GDR; tenacious struggle for relations of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries; and, not last, our active promotion of peace and permanent security in the world.

In 1949 our republic entered international politics with the commitment to do everything it could so that never again would a war emanate from German soil. We have remained faithful to that goal, it being a precept of our Constitution. Thirty years of socialist German policy have had a share in that Europe is passing through its longest peace period.

Socialism and peace are one and the same. Socialism thus needs and creates peace for its great effort of revolutionary construction. All experience has taught us that the all-round strengthening of the socialist community alone can block the way of imperialist expansion and aggression, that it is the only realistic course for doing away with the danger of world war.

Safeguarding favorable external conditions for successfully further developing the socialist social system today mainly means preventing global nuclear missile warfare, consolidating detente, i.e., arms and armed forces limitation and reduction, and thus also reducing the danger of "local" military conflicts.

Advances in that direction are in the interest of all nations.

An analysis of the changes in the international correlation of forces shows the need and possibilities for our share in the worldwide conflict between socialism and imperialism. While the goals of our foreign policy have remained the same, the conditions of our struggle have changed significantly.

Socialism and revolutionary events are moving forward on all continents. Global and regional problems are intertwining more and more. The foreign policy tasks to be solved are becoming more substantial and more urgent.

The close linkage of politics, economics and ideology—an objective manifestation of national as well as international processes—makes new and higher demands on foreign policy research and practice.

The close connection and interaction between foreign policy and international ideological conflict are coming to the fore most prominently especially at this time through our peace policy's worldwide offensive. Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence today, it is the struggle of ideas which forms the objective precondition for making the cooperation between states with opposing social systems function in the first place. World events have hardly ever gone through a period that has attested to that as persuasively as the period in which we live.

Emphatically and successfully, the socialist states are making every effort to prevent the unavoidable class opposition in interstate relations from resorting to military means. The struggle of ideas and world-outlooks is a tough class struggle—today more than ever, particularly since the enemy can more and more frequently, and openly, affect negatively the effectiveness of our arguments by no other means but those of psychological warfare by using Goebbels' recipe—the bigger the lie, the sooner people will believe it.

Karl Marx' remark that ideas assume material force when they catch hold of the masses encounters worldwide confirmation today. The peace struggle can be conducted with success if the masses are still more effectively mobilized for making the deeply democratic ideas of peaceful coexistence and disarmament prevail.

The desire of the broad people's masses in all countries for peace—as V. I. Lenin has said—cannot be insincere. That makes possible keeping in check those forces of aggression that would pervert the contest of ideas into ideological warfare and subversion.

Thirty years CDR have been 30 years of successful socialist German foreign policy marked by tough struggles. Our balance-sheet has indeed been presentable. Never before has a German state made a contribution to having the nations of Europe live in peace. On the contrary. Never before has a German state been among the pioneers of historic progress. On the contrary. Never before did a German state have such mighty, loyal and helpful friends and allies.

The GDR has adopted the correct side in the class struggle. To have made that change explains our international respect, and it also has boosted the expectations placed on the GDR's foreign policy activities.

Today the GDR has diplomatic relations with 129 states. It is a member of the UN and most of its special organizations. In being elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council, it got more votes than the number of states with which it maintains diplomatic relations.

The GDR has taken an active part in such important acts of international politics as CSCE, the negotiations of the Geneva disarmament commission, and the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe. All that grants new possibilities for our foreign policy while it assigns a greater international responsibility to it.

The decisive matter, that which will stand up throughout history, is that our foreign policy always has followed a direction which now has become the predominant one in Europe. That is the socialist policy which increasingly determines international events, and that is detente. The socialist revolution has gone on thus far for 30 years of peace in the GDR. It shall and must remain that way. To make sure that it will is the noblest of all our foreign policy tasks.

Our goals have been obtainable because we are taking account of the interplay of the objective and subjective factors. The change in the international correlation of forces, the most important objective criterion, is always the starting point and objective of our action.

It means thinking, planning and assessing things within large contexts and over long spans of time. And it also means interpreting what seem to be "local" events and processes and sudden changes in other regions as mosaic pieces of change in the international correlation of forces in its entire breadth.

Within the last three decades, the international correlation of forces has changed qualitatively: The economic efficiency of socialism has multiplied; the socialist states' share in industrial world commodity production has more than doubled; the socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union, determine world top standards today in more and more areas of our scientific-technical and technological development, in basic research and in public education and public health; the nationally liberated and non-alined states have increased their anti-imperialist potentials; and peaceful coexistence rests on a broad foundation.

Finally—and this is of enormous importance for preserving world peace—socialism erects barriers to imperialist and other aggressive and expansion-ist designs.

All in all, the growing weight and power of radiation of the socialist community have brought it about that the norms and principles socialism introduced into interstate relations come to prevail more and more in international affairs. Our republic has had a share in this.

These changes were possible only because the Marxist-Leninist parties have taken hold of, and controlled, the crucial processes in our era prudently, with scientific precision, resolutely and with revolutionary elan.

What is clear is that there is nothing automatic in social change. Enemy maneuvering also demonstrates that the subjective factor is gaining increasing importance. It systematically helps the breakthrough of the inevitabilities of our era--in being applied by us.

Conduct that is right because it is perfectly in line with the requirements and contradictions of our time and the vital interests of the peoples remains crucial. That conduct must orient, mobilize and organize. In other words: it must be revolutionary policy!

An excellent example of it is the Soviet Union's foreign policy. We gain confidence and new incentive from it. For that reason we are oriented to Soviet foreign policy and Soviet diplomacy in our research and doctrine, to learn our practical lessons from it.

Collaboration with the Fraternal Socialist States

The SED Program asks for insuring the most favorable international conditions for socialist and communist construction in collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. That great and demanding purpose combines many different tasks.

Prerequisite to solving all the tasks, as different as they may be, is strengthening the GDR as a sovereign socialist state, anchoring it within the community of socialist states, and the firm fraternal alliance with Lenin's country.

In his festival speech on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker emphasized that our collaboration with the Soviet Union logically becomes closer as socialist production in the GDR continues to advance. This is the most eloquent testimony to the qualitatively new type of interstate relations as it is possible only among socialist states. Its irrevocable foundations lies in the close militant alliance between the SED and the CPSU. Its expression in terms of international law came with the 7 October 1975 friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty. There, rapprochement was set down as a practical and strategic task.

Socialism is in essence internationalist. In the basic issues of social development, national and international interests objectively conform. Identical socioeconomic principles, i.e., socialist production relations, are decisive for that as well as the fact that in all fraternal states communist parties plan and direct social development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of socialist internationalism. From these objectively identical interests and goals the socialist states derive great possibilities for uniform, well coordinated and, thus, effective international action. Nationally, there are of course differences in the conditions for the development of socialism.

The better we learn even now to harmonize national with international interests and to pay attention to them in all matters of mutual relations, the greater and the more rapidly effective becomes the benefit for each and every socialist country as well as for the socialist community as a whole.

In the search for solutions for common problems, in coordinating our foreign policy approach, and in the cooperation among the fraternal socialist states altogether, our exchange of experiences plays an extraordinarily great role. It expresses the unity of proletarian internationalism and national sovereignty.

The well-known labor slogan, "exchange of experience is the cheapest investment," is all the more valid for the multiple relations among the socialist states. Regular meetings on all levels and in all areas, either in the economic, scientific or cultural fields, or in coordinating our foreign and military policy, are standard procedure in the relations among the socialist countries and greatly benefit all participants.

A new quality of cooperation among the fraternal countries also derives from the developmental level of their bilateral relations. Socialist foreign policy receives new tasks from the further development of socialist economic integration. Here special attention is called for in the implementation of the specialization and cooperation programs with other socialist countries up to 1990.

Great tasks result also from meeting the target programs adopted by CEMA. Because the framework staked out by them have to be filled in through bilateral accords and agreements in every given case.

The cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact has an importance of principle. The more effective this cooperation becomes, the better we shall succeed in the all-round coordination of the socialist foreign policy of peace, and the more reliably can socialism be protected and peace be secured.

The bilateral relations between the socialist states are the more fruitful, the more varied, continual and penetrating cooperation is throughout the whole community. Conversely, the more intensively and comprehensively bilateral relations develop between the socialist states, the more successful their multilateral cooperation becomes.

The experiences in the 30-year growth of the socialist German state prove that a consistent and successful peace policy requires revolutionary vigilance and secure military protection. Foreign and military policy have always belonged together, but it took socialist foreign and military policy to turn the safeguarding and stabilization of peace into a common goal. The GDR always has contributed to strengthening the defense capability of the states in the socialist community. It will also do in the future what it can to meet its responsibility to the protection of socialism. In view

of the undiminshed aggressiveness of imperialism, its immense material and ideological war preparations and, not last, the geographic location of our state, this is more necessary today than ever.

From the experiences of our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, I should emphasize by way of summary:

First: The meetings of the general secretaries or first secretaries of the central committees in the fraternal parties, including the regular meetings between Erich Honecker and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, are a new, meanwhile traditional and tested form of cooperation. They offer excellent possibilities for comradely exchange of experiences, for the discussion of problems, and for elaborating common tasks. Also this year there have been discussed crucial matters pertaining to the deepening of the fraternal alliance between our parties, states and peoples, far-reaching measures on expanding our economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and important topical problems of world politics. The switches were set for the 1980's, and even for the time up to the change of the century.

The conferences of the political consultative committee and the regular meetings of the foreign ministers' committee and other encounters are proven forms of cooperation that can be further extended.

Second: The system of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaties has stood up well. Our relations can no longer be conceived without these accords. They are a compass and shield, an indispensable tool, for our republic's ability to act on a cohesive front together with its allies for the cause of socialism.

Third: Our coordinated foreign policy approach has proven itself, even, and especially, under our complicated conditions of international struggle.

Together with the other Warsaw Pact states, the GDR, in the November 1978 Moscow Declaration, has once again reiterated that under current conditions in which imperialism is continuing its policy of domination, oppression and inequality, the consolidation of the unity and cohesiveness of the socialist countries has special importance.

Fourth: Finally, the collaboration among the fraternal socialist states has long made inroads into the classical forms of foreign policy relations. It comprises today a virtually boundless spectrum of party and state organ relations on the various levels, partnership relations among towns, combines and institutions, joint research projects and cooperation among numerous social organizations, all the way down to direct contacts among individual production brigades, and even among families.

All this demonstrates: In having the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries for its good friends and reliable allies, the GDR has an unshakable foundation for its own successful development.

Concerning the Struggle for Peace, Disarmament and International Security

Creating favorable international conditions for socialist and communist construction means rigorous dedication to the preservation of peace and the consolidation of international security, because world peace is a basic condition for the successful construction of socialist and communist society. Its preservation is of vital importance for all humanity. That is what is stated in the SED Program.

The attitude toward peace is seen today in the position taken on the cardinal issue of our time--that of disarmament. Secure peace through disarmament--that is the course the socialist states want. NATO, how-ever, promises peace through rearmament or, as they say, through "catching up in arms." Yet no one can for any length of time live peacefully on constantly new and larger powder kegs. This notion of first rearming and then negotiating means nothing less then first starting a fire and then discussing how to put it out.

Actually, there is no choice. Either an end to the arms race and effective disarmament or high mobilization and, thereby, escalating the risk of worldwide nuclear missile warfare. That is the world political situation in which the socialist states are announcing their Berlin peace initiative whereby they demonstrate to the whole world how serious they are about the safeguarding of peace.

Peace is on the long run impossible without military detente. To make a peace policy credible, one needs evidence by facts.

They are timely to the highest degree. Confronted with the NATO measures which aim at destroying the existing military correlation of forces and gaining the upper hand militarily, they offer the chance to choose the way of peace. Now it is up to the Western countries to respond to the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe and its willingness to negotiate further measures for creating trust and security, by coming up with analogous steps. Contrary designs are bound to hurt detente. Erich Honecker unmistakably pointed to that when he stated in Sofia "that that course, adorned with the mendacious fairy tale of a 'threat from the East,' gambles with the future on our continent, inducing all the negative consequences for East-West relations and the relations between the GDR and the FRG and between the GDR and West Berlin."

That October initiative confirms our people's experience: from the East comes peace. The imperialist lies about an alleged threat from the East turn out to be maneuvers for justifying their own mobilization. The socialist peace initiative attests to political courage, the courage to continue a course that has proven itself while encouraging those to join this course who still are reluctant or stand aside. True political

boldness—of which L. I. Brezhnev spoke in his Berlin speech—expresses itself not in a policy on the brink of confrontation but in the courageous confidence in the strength of all peacable forces to carry on the course of detente without fluctuations even in complicated situations.

This has motivated the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact member countries and other socialist countries toward unilaterally reducing their troop strength and equipment in Central Europe by withdrawing a part of Soviet troops and combat equipment from the GDR. The Soviet Union furthermore is ready to reduce the number of its medium-range nuclear weapons carriers in its western areas, provided the NATO states refrain from deploying new nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe meant to be aimed against the territories of the socialist countries. Those are truly historic initiatives of socialism, whose motto has been disarmament since the days of the Great October. Its peace appeal to all was sent around the world 62 years ago. Today, the strength of real socialism compels listening to it, compels an answer. Peace-loving humanity must be on guard and see to it that that answer serves the highest of all human rights, the right to living in peace.

The new proposals from the socialist states, which as one knows also contain the offer further to extend the confidence-forming measures--above and beyond the parameters set down in the Helsinki Final Act--, aim at achieving more interstate confidence while relaxing the military situation.

The proposals sent to all states for renouncing the use of force by treaty, outlawing the policy of hegemonism in international relations, are as much part of this conception as is the proposal submitted by the foreign ministers' conference in Budapest to conclude a treaty among the states that took part in CSCE in which they would obligate themselves not to attack each other. Such a treaty would proscribe the use of both nuclear and conventional weapons. The code on the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence as agreed upon in the Final Act of Helsinki would be buttressed by new and concrete political and legal guarantees. On the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, that treaty would diminish dangers and relax the situation. Simultaneously, the neutral and nonalined European states would get far-reaching guarantees for their security. At the same time, important principles and precepts of the UN Charter would be cast into international law obligations in accordance with the concrete conditions of Europe. That would be a genuine building block for a global treaty on the renunciation of force.

For debating this and other initiatives, the Warsaw Pact states have proposed a conference on the political level, attended by all European states as well as the United States and Canada, that would deal with the problems of military detente in Europe. Its goal should be to debate and determine without delay concrete and practical steps toward bolstering the confidence among the states in the military field, and toward reducing the military confrontation in Europe and other measures for military detente.

It could produce a viable basis and joint action program for the participating states in the field of military detente, as CSCE has done for political detente. The conditions are now ripe for such a conference. Now it must be prepared multilaterally. And for that we are ready at once.

We regard the new treaty on limiting strategic offensive weapons, e.i., SALT II, as an important step toward safeguarding peace. Since Helsinki it doubtless is the most significant success in the detente process. It can help substantiate the Soviet-U.S. treaty and prevent nuclear war and erect barriers against the unrestrained accumulation and further qualitative development of the most dangerous and costly weapons systems. Signing it has shown that it is possible to reach agreement even in this complicated area, as long as the principle of undiminished and equal security of the partners is strictly observed. SALT II conforms not only to the interests of the Soviet Union and the United States, but to ours and those of the nations all over the world as well. Its ratification by the U.S. Senate would further reduce the dangers of nuclear world war.

As a Central European state, we are particularly interested in taking account of all the factors that affect the strategic situation in Europe, during the SALT III negotiations that become possible thereafter, among them, in particular, the various NATO-proclaimed advanced strategy systems.

We must however state with all the necessary emphasis: Despite concluded and envisaged agreements, the military-industrial complex in the United States, the FRG and other NATO states continues its focus on pushing ahead with the arms race. Its spokesmen want to make the world believe that peace and security can be guaranteed only by further reinforcing NATO's military potentials, which means deterrence. That also is the reason why the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe are making no headway though a reduction of the enormous military capacities, especially in that geographic area, is urgently needed.

The continued response the Berlin proposals have found among all progressive forces and realistic politicians of the West harmoniously shows it is necessary and possible to move toward military detente.

The time has come, in Vienna and elsewhere, to give up the hopeless designs at obtaining unilateral military advantages through disarmament negotiations and of blackmail against the socialist states. Postwar history has confirmed that imperialism's search for military superiority is an essential feature of its military-political doctrine. The United States itself reports it has initiated 25 large and dangerous weapons systems since 1945. In a recent speech before the Atlantic Association in Washington, the U.S. President's national security advisor Brzezinski counted the imminent NATO decisions on deploying nuclear medium-range missiles among the "most important ones the Western alliance ever had to make." He held that as important historically as President Truman's Strategic Bomber Command and President Kennedy's dislocation of the ICBM's. It would significantly strengthen the West's so-called "negotiation capability."

This comparison uttered by the American side itself confirms to all the world the historic range of the new socialist peace initiative. For, in fact, the decisions at the time, by Truman and Kennedy, were followed by periods in which the world tottered on the brink of war and the imperialist policy of strength burdened international life. Yet the socialist states did not let themselves be blackmailed then as they will today not let themselves be driven into another cold, let alone, hot war.

International security is too precious to be gambled away. In their Moscow Declaration, the Warsaw Pact states have referred to the principles and goals which, if strictly observed by all states, would make possible effective disarmament steps.

"The Warsaw Pact member states resolutely oppose the policy of escalating the arms race and any attempts of military blackmail. They once again provide the evidence that they themselves never have sought and never will seek military superiority but their military efforts always have been and are directed at safeguarding their defense capability. They proceed from the proposition that the military equilibrium in Europe and in the world has to be maintained, not through increasing armaments but through reducing them and through resolutely proceeding toward concrete disamament measures, especially in the field of nuclear weapons."

The GDR always was and is to be found among the most active proponents of disarmament. We are at once ready for the most radical disarmament measures, as Erich Honecker has put it, as long as the principle of equal security is preserved.

On Cooperation With the Nationally Liberated States

Solidarity with the forces of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement and the Asian, African and Latin American states that evolved from it is and remains one of the main thrusts of our foreign policy conduct. Being itself a result of the struggle against war and oppression, and constantly subjected to attacks from imperialism, the GDR resolutely advocates every state's right to a sovereign decision over its social development and the shaping of its domestic and foreign policy.

Sociopolitically, the Asian, African and Latin American states are not all the same. A rapid process of socioeconomic and political diversification is going on in those countries and among them. With it, the nationally liberated states get the chance to push ahead with their social progress. We advocate that the favorable influence these countries already exercise on world events be further enhanced.

A fundamental identity of interests and objectives connects socialism with the nationally liberated Asian, African and Latin American states in their struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, racism, and apartheid, and for economic and social progress and for peace.

This is an objective identity of interests. It increases with the change in the international correlation of forces in favor of socialism and the forces of progress. With it, the possibilities for cooperation and collaboration for the benefit of all participants are expanded.

The nonalined movement has grown into an important factor in the international life of states and nations. Almost 100 states with different political and social systems and different levels of development are part of it today. The GDR sets great store by its work for solving the basic problem of our times, as Erich Honecker said in his welcoming speech to the sixth conference of the chiefs of nonalined states and governments.

The sixth summit conference of the nonalined states in Havana has shown again that this movement has important anti-imperialist and progressive potentials.

The prerequisites exist for joint conduct in the struggle for peace and disarmament and for a democratic transformation of the entire system of international relations. Despite its great efforts imperialism has not succeeded in corrupting the original principles of the nonalined movement and mobilizing it against the socialist countries.

Especially close political, economic, scientific and cultural relations connect us with those young states that have moved toward a socialist orientation. They are the most advanced and progressive anti-imperialist force among the developing countries. Proceeding from that assessment, the November 1976 Bucharest conference of the political advisory commission called for developing, as a joint task of the socialist countries, "multiple cooperation and commadely collaboration with the young states of socialist orientation. With all the differences that may exist between them, the socialist countries and the states with a socialist orientation are natural allies in the struggle for peace and international security."

Our relations with these states are based, and only can be based, on the principles of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity, and on the fundamental identity of social goals, ideology and politics. Therein lies the source for confidently developing our bilateral relations as well as for the possibility of common action in the basic issues of world politics.

The high points in our cooperation with these countries were the trips by our republic's party and state delegation, headed by Erich Honecker in early 1979, to India, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zambia, and Libya and, late in 1979, to socialist Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The history of our relations with these states proves: in benefiting them, we benefit ourselves. Augmenting our common benefit remains an important foreign policy objective for us.

## On Our Relations With the Capitalist States

Among the inevitabilities informing the substance of socialist foreign policy is our making peaceful coexistence prevail. In the era of transition from capitalism to socialism and in view of growing nuclear missile arsenals, this is the only reasonable form of cooperation and of confrontation between the two antagonistic social systems. Through the peaceful coexistence policy, conceived by Lenin, socialism has given a constructive answer to the question about the nature of relations between states with differing social orders. They must be peaceful, that is to say, they must be based on the strict regard for sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and each nation's right to decide on the form of its social and political order, and make possible cooperation for mutual advantage.

Forming relations with the capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence means pursuing a stable and likewise consistent policy in matters of war or peace. Peaceful coexistence does certainly not merely mean the absence of war. Peaceful coexistence is pacific cooperation among states that respects the legitimate interests, it is an active commitment to peace. By that the GDR has let itself be guided from the very first day of its existence in its own interest and in the interest of secure peace. That was the case when we, together with our fraternal countries and friends, were fighting for our state's international equality. It is all the more the case right now and in the future.

Peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders must be wrested through tenacious struggle from the forces of war and reaction. Right now in particular we experience how tough and sharp this struggle is for the general course in international politics. The objective prerequisites alone—that is, the change in the international correlation of forces in favor of socialism—by no means lead automatically to peace and detente, to peaceful international cooperation. What is necessary, rather, is making use of the objective inevitabilities in social development through a purposeful policy by the socialism countries and the activities of all pacific nations. For we know all too wall that, as long as imperialism exists, the laws of capital will function, and war and violence will remain a mark of imperialist power and profit drives. Detente and 30 years of peace in Europe simply are not a sign that capitalism might possibly change, but they are an expression of the change in the international correlation of forces.

Our aim is establishing an international climate where mutual trust and the search for solutions for common benefit will predominate. No room can there be for obliterating class distinctions, or incompatible political and ideological contrasts. That would be a risky delusion—and more than that, it would mean leading the peoples astray. And especially for that reason, the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki as a whole and in all its parts, for the elaboration of which we have stubbornly worked together with our fraternal socialist countries and friends, is and remains

of fundamental importance to carrying on the detente process in Europe. The ten principles contained in the Final Act are more than a legal code of conduct. They are the viable long-term foundation for a structure of peace based on a well balanced equilibrium of interests among all participating states.

At the same time they are the measure and point of orientation for implementing the various recommendations of the Final Act for all areas of useful cooperation between socialist and capitalist states.

The experiences since the Helsinki Conference have demonstrated that the Final Act has stood up well as an instrument for long-term coexistence policy in the relations between socialist and capitalist states.

In signing this document, the GDR made it a component of its foreign policy program. Right after CSCE, the GDR offered the capitalist states that participated concrete suggestions for further developing bilateral relations on the basis of the principles and recommendations of the Final Act. The GDR has signed more than 130 treaties with capitalist states since. They concern all areas of the Final Act and are integrated with the network of bilateral and multilateral treaties forming the European treaty system, i.e., the buttressing in terms of international law of the outcome of the coexistence policy after World War II.

The Madrid Conference of the states that took part in CSCE, planned for 1980, can also have a beneficial effect on the detente process. That presupposes, of course, that all participants take part objectively and constructively and concentrate on practical steps toward applying the Final Act as a unified whole.

Well balanced and effective measures in the field of military detente could be discussed there as much as the ways for deepening equal and mutually advantageous economic, scientific-technical and cultural collaboration on a bilateral and all-European level. It is understood that the Final Act is the point of departure and orientation for all steps and must neither be "written off" nor subverted.

Political dialog between the states doubtless is of great importance for further developing the relations of peaceful coexistence. Regular political exchange of opinion on the high and highest level thus is not merely an aspect of peaceful interstate collaboration as such but, under prevailing international conditions, an essential tool for forming confidence. The GDR is included in this process.

The principles of peaceful coexistence and the Final Act of Helsinki also form the basis for our relations with the FRG. This policy conforms with the vital interests of our people and our state and is also in the interest of all European nations. In the tough and complicated class conflict that has gone on for already three decades with FRG imperialism,

the GDR has always let itself be guided by the requirements for peace and security in Europe. The strict continuity of our policy vis-a-vis the FRG in all phases of our struggle consisted of working in national and international responsibility for the protection of socialism and for the peace and security of the European nations.

Since the signing of the Basic Treaty, relations between the GDR and the FRG have become more normal, and less interference with detente has resulted from them. The FRG government too had to realize that it could no longer evade normal relations with the GDR. They are possible only on the basis of international law. The interstate accords and agreements concluded meanwhile on its basis, i.e., on the basis of peaceful coexistence, are the "business foundation." It must strictly be respected.

Our attitude is clear and intelligible for everyone. We advocate a policy committed to detente and international cooperation with all capitalist states. That holds, without reservations, for the relations with the FRG and likewise for the GDR's relations with West Berlin.

The GDR will continue to do all it can to turn the relations between the two German states into a building block for a structure of European and international peace. The success of it thus depends on the FRG.

Implementing the great social tasks assigned by the Ninth SED Congress is possible only in peace. No doubt, important progress has been made in recent years in reducing the danger of the outbreak of a thermonuclear world war. Peaceful interstate cooperation has been expanded. That also has benefited the international conditions for our socialist development. But world events are by no means yet free from menacing signs.

Much remains to be done to safeguard peace permanently. Our socialist German state, together with its allies, will unflinchingly fulfill its internationalist peace obligation.

The GDR is located at an important sector of the international class conflict. Our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the pioneer and bulwark of historic progress, our being irrevocably anchored within the socialist community, and the stable and dynamic construction of developed socialist society in the GDR are the source of strength and the guarantee for our fulfilling our internationalist tasks.

Relying on the fraternal help of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, and escorted by the international solidarity and the assistance from communist parties, we were able to pass with success through the 30-year course of our socialist development. The external conditions for building socialism in the GDR have always been complicated. Time and time again imperialist policy created dangerous situations which had to be met on sound principle, prudently, cautiously, courageously. Today still the GDR is located amidst the field of tension between socialism and imperialism, between the two big military groupings of our times.

The imperialist diplomatic blockade reflecting that policy was, de jure, permanent aggression, a permanent declaration of war against the socialist German state in existence. That imperialist policy was bound to fail. Its roots, however, have remained, the aggressiveness implicit in the nature of imperialism.

That is why favorable international conditions for socialist construction do not arise by themselves but only through steady and stable socialist development within and a consistent socialist peace policy to the outside.

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#### EXPANSION OF RELATIONS WITH INDIA ADVOCATED

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[Article by "Wg": "Bridge of Friendship and Cooperation--30 Years of the GDR, 30 Years of Republic of India"]

[Text] It is now a year to the day since the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, Erich Honeckeraccompanied by a high-ranking GDR delegation--paid an official friendship visit to the Republic of India. This visit capped the successful cooperation in the spirit of friendship, which has always characterized the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of India. At the same time, the visit opened up new perspectives in regard to the further consolidation of friendship and the intensification and extension of the mutually beneficial cooperation. Erich Honecker's sojourn in India, his talks with the leading representatives and his meetings with working people of this great country reflected the great importance that the GDR has always attributed to the development of its relations with the Republic of India. At the same time, it became apparent that in India as well the working people and the representatives of the most diverse political views pay a great deal of attention to the friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic.

To the people of the German Democratic Republic, the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of India is a joyful event and a welcome occasion to give proper attention to the friendly relations and good cooperation.

The friendly great Indian nation can justly take pride in the good results achieved during the years of independence. During the last 3 decades, the Republic of India developed into a power that deservedly enjoys great respect and authority in international life. Freed from the fetters of the nearly 200-year-old colonial yoke, the Indian people have made great efforts to overcome the burdensome heritage left by the colonial rulers. In spite of a great number of acute economic, social and other problems that must urgently be solved, the advances that on the road toward

national rebirth have been made in the economic sector and in the fields of education, health, science and culture are quite significant. In the 30 years since the proclamation of the Republic of India, industrial production has nearly quadrupled, while the grain harvests have increased more than twofold. There have developed new branches of a modern industry—e.g. metallurgy, heavy machine building, the aircraft, automobile, chemical and fertilizer industries, electronics and electrical engineering—which in colonial India could not have been imagined.

According to UN data, India is today among the first 10 states in the world, as far as the GNP volume is concerned. From an underdeveloped agrarian country, India turned into an important agrarian-industrial state. Undoubtedly, the greatest economic achievement of the independent India is the establishment and consolidation of a state sector. This sector, which was developed in close cooperation with other countries, above all the USSR and the other states of the socialist community, now forms the foundation underlying the growing economic independence of the country.

During the 3 decades since its foundation, the Republic of India has become an important factor which stabilizes the international situation in Asia and in the entire world. India's foreign policy is based—and on this all of the country's leading forces are agreed, regardless of their political orientation—on the desire to maintain friendly relations with all peoples and on the principles of peaceful coexistence, positive neutrality and nonalignment.

The foreign policy of the independent India, which is oriented toward the consolidation of peace, international security, and stability in Asia, and its active contribution to the enforcement of the policy of peaceful coexistence have generated great respect for the country among all peace-loving forces in the world. In the movement of the nonaligned nations, which represents a positive force in international relations, in the struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and international security, the Republic of India occupies a prominent position. It persistently advocates consolidation of world peace and intensification of the process of detente and its extension to all continents; it opposes imperialism, colonialism, racism and all forms of discrimination and champions respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the individual states and the establishment of a new international economic system based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The peace policy pursued by the socialist community of states is highly valued in the Republic of India. Thus it is only logical that solid ties of friendship link the USSR and the other states of the socialist community with the Republic of India. For decades, this friendship has proved to be stable and lasting and on several occasions it has been confirmed that this friendship is not subject to cyclical fluctuations.

It is only natural that the relations with the Republic of India have always been an integral part of the GDR's international affairs; after all, these relations are maintained with a country which plays an important and active role in the international arena, above all in Asia, in the consolidation of peace and in the repulsion of the imperialist and hegemonic pressure.

Long before the establishment of the GDR, the revolutionary German workers' movement had emphatically championed the rights of the peoples in the colonies struggling for liberation. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels enthusiastically hailed the historic national uprising in India (1857-1859) against British colonial rule. The Communist Party of Germany repeatedly appealed to the working class and all progressive forces to show active solidarity with the freedom fighters in the colonially suppressed countries. In 1923, the Leipzig KPD [Communist Party of Germany] Congress adopted a "Salutatory Message to the Indian Proletariat" which articulated the support for the struggle of the working masses in India against British imperialist domination. In 1929, Indian patriots in Berlin-supported by progressive German individuals--established the Indian national liberation movement's first information office abroad; in this undertaking, they maintained extensive contacts with the revolutionary German workers' movement. Unforgotten is the active opposition by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore against fascism and war.

Upon the foundation of the German Democratic Republic, the anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggle of the German working class and other progressive forces, as it was manifested in the solidary support for the national liberation movement in India, became state policy. Part of this policy was the obligation to preserve and renew the over 100-year-old humanistic traditions of German-Indian cultural relations that are bound up with the works of Goethe, Herder, Kant, Hegel, Schlegel, Wilhelm von Humboldt and other German scholars and indologists of a genuinely humanistic spirit.

In the government declaration of 12 October 1949, the first minister president of the German Democratic Republic emphasized: "The new road is the road of democracy, peace and friendship with all nations."

This basic attitude also determined the development and cultivation of the relations between the GDR and the Republic of India. Since the middle of the 1950's, the political relations between the GDR and the Republic of India showed continuous and stable development. These relations commenced on 16 October 1954, with the ratification of the first trade agreement which also provided for the establishment of a GDR trade mission in India. To the Republic of India, the GDR came to be already during the first years of its existence a respected partner in international relations. From the beginning, the high level of the political contacts and the continuity of these contacts have been characteristic of the relations between the two countries. The long series of personal meetings and direct exchanges of opinion between leading representatives of the two countries, which have

always proved useful for either side and which have furthered mutual understanding, began in 1955 with the reception of the then deputy minister president of the GDR, Heinrich Rau, by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. In January 1959, Otto Grotewohl was given a cordial welcome by Jawaharlal Nehru-by which welcome India practically demonstrated its rejection of the Hallstein Doctrine. In a declaration concerning his visit to the Republic of India, the GDR minister president stated "that the economic, cultural and scientific relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of India have been developing further during the last few years."1

The GDR's support for the struggle of the Indian people for the consolidation of national sovereignty and independence was manifested as well by its solidarity with India in regard to the final liberation of the Portuguese colonies on Indian territory—Goa, Daman and Diu—in December 1961. This fundamental policy significantly helped to enhance in the nationally liberated states the GDR's international authority.

It is evidence of the realism of the eminent Indian politician and statesman Jawaharlal Nehru who stated as early as the beginning of the 1960's—at the climax of imperialism's diplomatic blockade against the socialist German state:

"There are two independent entities, powers, countries: The government of West Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany) and the government of East Germany (the German Democratic Republic). This is a fact of life.... It is a fact that must be recognized. If one ignores the facts of life, it means that one disregards something which leads one to incorrect results."

Based on the position-which was also adopted by J. Nehru in the Indian parliament -- that "our relations with them (the GDR-- the author) are to all intents and purposes the relations with an independent country that we recognize,"3 the friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of India showed continuous further development, Indications of this were the agreement on the establishment of consulates general, which was concluded in 1970, and the establishment of diplomatic relations on 8 October 1972. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, valued the establishment of diplomatic relations "as a significant step that will do more than have a positive effect on the relations between our two states.... It does not require much imagination to realize that the new phase in the development of friendly relations between India and the German Democratic Republic will also have a fruitful effect on those processes in the world and in Europe, which serve peace and detente."4

Since then, the cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of India has been further extended and variegated; it has included new areas of political, economic, scientific-technological and cultural life.

On account of the peace policy that has been consistently pursued by the GDR in close cooperation with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community, the socialist German state of workers and farmers—an integral part of the community of socialist states—has many friends and enjoys great respect in the Republic of India.

A reflection of this great respect and of the new quality in the relations between the GDR and the Republic of India as an important country among the nationally liberated states were the visits of the chairmen of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, in 1973 and Horst Sindermann in 1974. These visits provided significant impulses for the further intensive development and organization of the relations between the two states in all fields. Evidence of this were the growing number of political contacts and the rapid development of economic cooperation.

Undoubtedly, the visit to the German Democratic Republic by the Indian prime minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, in July 1976 is one of the high points in the bilateral relations. The visit was an impressive demonstration of honest friendship between our peoples and states and it opened up new perspectives for a fruitful and mutually beneficial development of the relations. Further meetings between leading politicians of the two states document the intensification of the exchange of political views and of the varied cooperation.

The visit to the Republic of India by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, at the beginning of last year was the culmination of the traditionally friendly relations between the two peoples and states. At a rally at the Delhi Red Fort, Erich Honecker stated that between the two countries "a solid bridge of friendship and cooperation has been established."5

The exchange of political views with President N. S. Reddy and Prime Minister M. Desai illustrated the extensive conformity of the views on basic problems of international development and on the further intensification of bilateral cooperation. The leading representatives of the two states confirmed their intention further to develop and extend the friendly relations in the interest of their nations and for the consolidation of world peace.

Erich Honecker's visit to the Republic of India showed that the friendship and cooperation with the German Democratic Republic is supported by large segments of the political and social life of this country.

"Free from economic considerations, we have been continuously developing our traditionally friendly relations," said Erich Honecker in New Delhi. "They rest on a comprehensive contractual foundation and develop in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. The shared view that peace and security are prerequisite to the well-being of the nations imparts to the relations lasting stability."

As is stated in the Joint Declaration GDR/India, the first visit by the head of the German Democratic Republic to the Republic of India was a milestone in the close friendly relations. It was an important step in the implementation of the principle of our policy--reaffirmed by the Ninth SED Congress--"that through the extension and consolidation of its political and economic relations with the nationally liberated states, the German Democratic Republic supports their struggle for economic independence and for the solution of the political-economic and social problems."7

A crucial factor in the bilateral relations is the economic cooperation. In the course of the last 25 years, this cooperation has been growing—bound up with the political cooperation between the two states in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual benefit on the basis of government agreements. In appreciation of its importance for the economic development of his country, the Indian President N. S. Reddy stated:

"Many doubted our abilities, but not the GDR. We are very grateful for your developmental assistance."8

The varied cooperation ranges from traditional forms of commodity exchange to scientific-technological cooperation. Since 1955, the trade volume has been expanding continuously, showing a 20-fold increase. This was accompanied by an increasing diversification of the commodity structure. In the last few years, the GDR exported—among other goods—17 sea—going freighters, 250 combines, 2,000 machine tools and 1,300 printing machines; in return, the GDR has been receiving from India—in addition to traditional export commodities—an increasing volume of semifinished and finished products, including products of the Indian machine building industry, shoe uppers and boot legs, cotton fabric, textiles and finished products of the food industry.

In the long-term agreements on economic, industrial and scientifictechnological cooperation, which was concluded on 9 January 1979, both governments agreed by 1985 to double the commodity exchange as compared to 1978. The agreement also contains guidelines concerning the forms and methods of economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation, including the cooperation in third states.

Foreign Trade Turnover GDR-Republic of India (in mill. valuta marks)

1,04	1960	1970	1975	1978
	126,4	267,1	351,4	472,1

The growing trade volume meets the interests of both countries; it is based on a balanced commodity exchange and on annually coordinated products lists.

The Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation GDR/India, which was established in 1974, represents an effective

instrument for the expansion and intensification of economic cooperation on a long-term and stable basis. As a result of its activities, it was possible to explore new fields and possibilities for the further intensification of the trade relations and of the industrial and scientific-technological cooperation and to make arrangements for joint implementation measures.

The diversity of the relations between our countries is reflected as well in the cooperation in the fields of culture and science; on the basis of the cultural agreement concluded in 1973 and of other agreements, this cooperation is being developed continuously. The cultural exchange plans provide for a wide variety of measures ranging from joint research projects and conferences and the dispatch of scientists and students to the exchange of artist's ensembles and publications.

In accordance with its capacities, the GDR renders practical and theoretical assistance in the training of Indians in the fields of business, technology, science, art and culture.

Likewise, the parliaments of the GDR and of the Republic of India maintain good relations, which are manifested in the reciprocal visits by leading parliamentarians and in the joint activities on behalf of peace and detente.

The members of the National Friendship Society India/GDR have actively contributed to the development of the relations between the two countries. To a large extent, it is due to their efforts that our nations have got closer to each other and that friendly sentiments toward the GDR are firmly rooted among the Indian people.

The history of the relations between the GDR and the nationally liberated states, including the Republic of India, proves:

The identical interests in the struggle for peace, detente, disarmament and the peoples' welfare, the joint attempt to establish a mutually beneficial cooperation based on equal rights are the objective foundation of these relations.

Thirty years of the GDR--30 years of the Republic of India: That means decades of a successful development of traditional friendship and close cooperation.

"In view of the increasing gravity of the international situation, the great importance of the all-round development of our relations with the Republic of India in the interest of peace is even more apparent."9

The identity of their interests in the struggle for peace and international cooperation is one of the most important foundations of the friendship between the GDR and the Republic of India. This also explains their extensive agreement on the basic problems regarding present-day international

developments. Their cooperation in international affairs is devoted entirely to the cause of peace and to the nations' welfare. It is and remains a basic concern of the GDR's foreign policy to continue in this way to consolidate and extend the relations between our peoples and states.

#### **FOOTNOTES**

- 1. BOTEN DER FREUNDSCHAFF, Berlin, 1959, no pp given.
- Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.
   Documents of the Conference. E, Beo/PV/6/3 rev 1, p 11.
- 3. PTI, 28 Aug 61.
- 4. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 8 Oct 72.
- 5. Ibid., 10 Jan 79.
- 6. Ibid., 9 Jan 79.
- Report of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress, Berlin, 1976, p 20.
- 8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 12 Jan 79.
- H. Axen at the 10th Session of the SED Central Committee, in: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 27 Apr 79.

8760

CSO: 2300

#### BRIEFS

INTERCEPTION OF FRG RUNAWAYS—Sixteen-year old Andrea Claegel and 15-year old Doris Rosenbaum, from West Berlin, were handed over to the responsible authorities of the West Berlin Senat on Friday, 8 February 1980. These youths had run away from an institution and were intercepted on 7 February on transit train D 341 between the GDR border checkpoints of Marienborn and Griebnitzsee. [Text] [AU121435 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

ARREST OF FRG CITIZEN--On 10 February 1980, GDR security organs arrested Fred and Wolfgang Knoettner, residents of West Berlin, at the GDR border checkpoint of Drewitz for the organization of crime against the GDR. They had repeatedly perpetrated subversive acts on the GDR's transit routes, had in several instances, for purposes of their crimes, abused the liberal regulations of entry into the GDR capital of Berlin, and they had also violated the customs regulations. An investigation was initiated and arrest warrants were issued. The "Opel Ascona" car used in the crime with the licence plates B-VJ 959 was impounded. [Text] [AU141050 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

TRAINING OF FOREIGN STUDENTS--Six hundred foreign citizens are currently being trained in the GDR in the fields of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuff industry. The number of training slots for foreign nationals is steadily increasing. Since 1971, about 1,400 cadres from 30 countries have received their training in the GDR. [AU141114 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Feb 80 p 1 AU]

COOPERATION WITH BAGHDAD UNIVERSITY--The Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg and the University of Baghdad want to link even more closely their scientific cooperation. A delegation of the Iraqi partner university under the leadership of its president, Prof Dr Sultan Ali Shawi, is now visiting the Halle educational and research institution. The guest from Iraq and Prof Dr Dieter Bergner, rector of the Martin Luther University, signed a new work agreement on Tuesday, 5 February 1980. It provides, among other things, for the further exchange of scientific cadres and for joint colloquiums and teaching events. [Text] [AU092049 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

CONTINUATION OF HOUSING SHORTAGE -- Despite the comprehensive housing construction program, the number of persons seeking housing accommodations in GDR cities is decreasing only slightly, if at all. This is indicated by reports in the local GDR press. For example, at the present time, over 11,000 persons seeking housing are registered in Erfurt. Although almost 2,300 new housing units were built there in 1979, the number of persons seeking housing diminished by only 753. One reason for this is that increasing numbers of young people are marrying and are desirous of setting up their own households. In addition, the high divorce rate affects the demand for housing. What is more, increasing numbers of GDR citizens, who live in old, neglected buildings without indoor plumbing, are striving to obtain apartments with modern conveniences. For example, in Erfurt, only 55 percent of all housing units have bathrooms. The situation is similar in other GDR cities. In any case, the government authorities emphasize that the growing requests for housing with modern conveniences can be fulfilled only gradually and on a long-term basis; furthermore, that first priority will be given to young married couples, shift workers, and large families. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 27, 18 Feb 80 p 2]

TISCH ADDRESSES FDGB CONFERENCE -- Eight bezirk delegates conferences of the FDGB today affirmed the readiness of the workers to extend further the GDR's economic performance. The delegates in Berlin, Cottbus, Erfurt, Frankfurt-Oder, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Magdeburg, Schwerin and Suhl underlined the high importance of scientific-technological projects for productivity increases. Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee, in his final address to the conference held in the capital, characterized the SED's consistent support for full employment, prosperity, growth and stability as the best labor policy. The further strengthening of the GDR, the reliable military protection of the achievements gained, and the safeguarding of the standard of living demand considerably higher effectiveness of management. In this greatest attention is to be paid to the development of science and technology. Harry Tisch said that this includes the cooperation of scientists, researchers, designers, technicians and skilled workers. The objective is to achieve at each place of work a considerable increase in end product with lowest possible expenditure. Every issue is to be discussed with the workers so that everyone will be aware of the tasks which have to be tackled now and in the future. [Text] [LD092248 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 9 Feb 80 LD]

DEVELOPMENT, SITUATION OF ARMED FORCES DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRIAP in Hungarian 27 Jan 80 p 5

[Interview with Colonel General Karoly Csemi, state secretary for National Defense, by Karoly Gan: "A New Army is Born"]

[Text] Karoly Csemi was born in 1922 at Tany. Prior to liberation he was a worker. In 1945 he enlisted voluntarily to the Democratic People's Army. In the first years he was a political education officer. After completing the Tank Academy of the Soviet Army, he became division academy commander, army commander, then commander of the Revolutionary Police Regiment, academy commander, army commander, chief of staff, first deputy minister of defense, state secretary.

He joined the Party in 1945 and has been a member of the MSZMP CC since 1966. He is a member of the Hungarian Partisan Association.

In preparation for the 35th anniversary of the liberation of our country, the creation of the democratic Hungarian army has been commemorated throughout the army in the past few days. The heroic age of the organization of the new Hungarian army, the experiences and memories of its veterans were recalled.

Colonel General Karoly Csemi, state secretary for National Defense, reminisced about the formation of the army at the Hungarian People's Army festivity held in Csongrad. In connection with the anniversary, our collaborator Karoly Ban questioned the state secretary about the birth of the army and its development for the past 3 and 1/2 decades.

[Question] You have been a soldier without interruption since the establishment of the democratic army. Please tell us about the circumstances under which the democratic army was created.

[Answer] The Provisional Nationa, Government set up in December 1944 in the liberated town of Debrecen and announced its program after accepting the proposal of the Communist Party. Next to the democratic transformation of

social conditions and to land distribution, it designated as an important task the engagement of our country in the armed struggle against German fascism. Accordingly, it declared war on fascist Germany. Shortly thereafter, on January 20, 1945, the representatives of the Provisional National Government signed a ceasefire agreement in Moscow with the Soviet Union and the other members of the anti-fascist coalition. The accord paved the way for the organization of the armed forces of the new democratic people's power. On the very same day -- January 20 -- the Provisional National Government issued a recruiting appeal toward the organization of the Hungarian People's Army. The appeal was that "every Hungarian should take arms in the interest of the liberation of the country and of the Hungarian people! As many Hungarian men as possible, imbued with democratic feelings and fighting spirit should join the ranks of the new Hungarian army." With this began the organization of the democratic Hungarian army which expressed the will and active intent of the Hungarian people to participate militarily on the side of the Soviet Union in the destruction of Hitlerite fascism.

[Question] Which were the most urgent tasks and how did the formation of the first troop units take place?

[Answer] First and foremost, the setting up, equipping, preparation and dispatch to the front of the first divisions had to be ensured. To this effect, the Soviet army provided many-sided and selfless assistance. The recruiting appeal mobilized the broad masses of men and women willing to act and to make sacrifices for the country. Enthusiastic recruiting meetings were held in many villages, town, district and county seats. Within a short time, 60,000 persons voluntarily enlisted in the democratic army. Among the first were the former partisans and resistance fighters who fought with arms against the Hitlerites already during the years of fascist occupation. They were joined by the soldiers of the Voluntary Regiment of Buda. Then came the Hungarian Internationalists who had acquired revolutionary and combat experience on the fronts of Soviet Russia, the Hungarian Soviet Republic and then the Spanish Republic. Thousands of workers and peasants who hated fascism volunteered for the new army. Soldiers, NCO's and officers of the old army, disillusioned with the war and ready to do something for the national cause--many of whom recognized in POW camps the necessity to fight against barbaric fascism -- joined the democratic army.

An unforgettable memory of mine is tied to the calling up of the volunteers from the Hajdusag region. The 16 to 18-year-old young people came to the barracks in shabby clothing, some of them in unmatching shoes. But they brought with them the enthusiastic political mood which followed the land distribution in the liberated areas. As a result of the organization of the new army, the 1st Bridge and Railroad Division already operated among the units of the Soviet front; the organization and preparation of the 1st and 6th Infantry Divisions was completed by the second half of April, and the organization of other formations and institutes was actively underway. The first two divisions formed left for the theatre of military operations.

At the time on the trains headed for Austria we saw a sad spectacle of devastation and destruction unfold before us in Budapest and throughout the country. This only increased the determination of the division troops and made even clearer the meaning of the struggle against fascism. At the end of April, we were ready for battle in Austria, waiting for the order. The divisions, however, were not put into action because the German fascist armed forces collapsed under the blows of the Soviet and Allied armies.

[Question] Tell us about the 35-year development of the army and its current situation.

[Answer] During the past 3 and 1/2 decades, our army has developed alongside our society and has become an organic part of it. This is expressed by the socialist character of our people's army, the firm sense of obligation of our commanders and soldiers toward the cause of the working people, their high degree of preparedners and practical experience, and the fact that they are ready and able to fulfill at all times their honorable obligations.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, with the willingness of our government and working people to make sacrifices in order to defend our independence, freedom and socialist achievements—in harmony with our country's possibilities—has always shown and continues to show great concern for the strengthening of our national defense and the systematic development of our people's army. Those who had served with me in those days in the army remember quite well that even at the beginning of the 1950's, the armaments of our army still consisted of drum magazine machine guns, long rifles, swords, horse-drawn cannons and mine throwers, and piston aircraft technique which served throughout the second world war. Today, the war technique and armaments of our people's army consist of modern multiple—round firing seapons, highly efficient anti-tank devices, armored transport vehicles, powerful tanks, automatic cannons, various types of rockets, supersonic fighter planes and combat helicopters. This is regularly experienced and seen by our people.

The highest yardstick and most important area of our soldiers' firmness is the fulfillment by the army of its basic mission: the maintenance of combat readiness at a high level, the carrying out of training and exercises, the masterful handling of modern and intricate combat materiel. The formations of our people's army have achieved more even and solid results in political educational work, sharpshooting, weapon and specialized training, and the handling of technique and combat materiel. Our designated units regularly take part, together with the troops of the Soviet and other allied armies in international cooperation exercises in which they admirably hold their own. Thus for example—just to mention the recent past—the lessons of the joint show of strength Shield-79 executed with our comrades—in—arms on the territory of our country also substantiate the fact that the Hungarian People's Army is the worthy partner—in—arms of the brotherly armies.

[Question] Could we hear a few words about the young people performing military service, about their life and acceptance of responsibility?

[Answer] There are people who are of the opinion that a large number of our young people are not serious but shrink back from difficulties, sacrifices and obligations. This is positively denied by the experiences encountered in the performance of military service. The overwhelming majority of our youth is disciplined, ready to make sacrifices, accepts and overcomes difficulties, although the performance of military service nowadays is not at all easy. In addition to the traditional military virtues, many-sided specialized technical training and a high-level acceptance of responsibility are also required. The fulfillment of training and combat readiness tasks puts commanders and subordinates to the test day after day.

The troops of our people's army also take part in the execution of national economic tasks. For example, the technical construction troops last year performed approximately 5 billion forints worth of work on large investments. Our soldiers take part in manpower intensive agricultural harvesting tasks, prevention of natural disasters and catastrophes and eliminating their consequences and save human lives and property values with their unselfish courage.

At present, 52 percent of our conscripted soldiers have completed secondary school or apprenticeship training school, and 45 percent have completed eight years of elementary school. Some 3 percent complete elementary school during military service, with the help of the army. Several thousand young people acquire in the army trades which they can also utilize in civilian life. They are increasing their education and culture.

More than half of our soldiers are members of the Communist Youth League. Many of them become KISZ members and activists while in the army and year after year hundreds from among them are admitted into the ranks of the Party. Thousands and thousands of young people become interested in and comprehending of social and political life during their military service and turn into citizens with an active community and public life outlook. The internal image and arrangement of the barracks has changed, the traditional "barracks" characteristics have disappeared. The soldiers live and work in increasingly more homelike and more modern circumstances.

In conclusion: in the past 3 and 1/2 decades, new generations have grown up and joined in the struggle for the building and defense of socialism. I think it is important that we tell them our memories, pass on our experiences so as to also strengthen their faith in the victory of our just cause.

2153

CSO: 2500

## U.S. SEEN PREPARING MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH PRC

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Jan 80 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro: "Brown's Asian Journeys"]

[Text] On 14 January, U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Richard Holbrook, and representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council, returned to Washington after a four-day visit in the PRC and a one-day stay in Japan. Although American military contacts with Japan on this level are something to which everyone has become accustomed, the visit to China was a unique event that has once more underscored that country's entry into the new power system, new both for China and for the United States.

This was the Pentagon political chief's first visit to China, a fact that caused much comment and highly divergent speculation. Some believe that Brown's visit produced no results that would bring about close American-Chinese cooperation in the military arena. Others believe that the visit was the nucleus of an alliance which although not yet precisely defined, has been clearly outlined.

If we are to believe the official communiques, today's realities lie somewhere in between. Brown and his staff familiarized themselves in detail with the state of the Chinese armed forces by visiting the air and ground military units, the naval fleet base in Shanghai and the military academy in Beijing. Direct contact was established with the political and military leaders of the PRC, and also, as Brown himself described it, "strategic cooperation" with China was established, even though a concrete (or at least unknown) agreement was not reached. The most spectacular result was an understanding on giving the Chinese access

to American satellite technology which officially is to serve the needs of agriculture and petroleum exploration but which also has possible military applications.

No agreement has been signed, however, on the subject of so-called "mutual" military aid, weapons supply, or financing of Chinese armaments.

But as we know, every such contact, aside from its official reason, has its own hidden reason that the public learns about many years later. Harold Brown was not authorized to sign far-reaching agreements, or more importantly, to conclude alliances. But he could, and doubtless did, lay a foundation for closer cooperation of Washington with Beijing.

"The present visit is only the beginning of a long-term friendship and relations", he elegantly announced during one of his appearances. "More military visits, consultations, and mutual exchange of information is anticipated", he added in an interview granted on the last day of his visit in Beijing. And this should be enough to dispel any doubts that there will be an increasing tendency to link up with China militarily.

How far, and to what extent, it is difficult to predict today. But it is a fact that an important change has taken place in U.S.-Asian politics, that Washington has departed from its present policy of excluding military matters from its political and economic dealings with China. The purpose of this change is totally transparent: To strengthen China in its anti-soviet activities, reinforce the position of the United States in the Far East, and prepare a broad base for an eventual military alliance of those countries that are friendly to the United States.

We can no longer doubt the inclination of China to engage in such politics. During the American visit, the Chinese urgently appealed for a military alliance with the United States "to counteract the growing might of the Soviet Union". And although during the talks with the American defense secretary the government in Beijing expressed its objection to the delivery of weapons from the United States to Taiwan, and although officially it was negative to the presence of American troops in South Korea, nevertheless, as Brown said at the press conference that ended the visit, even in these matters "our talks served to diminish our differences".

Beijing, apparently, is ready to make all possible concessions to obtain as much as possible from the Americans to accomplish its "four modernizations" plan, in which the expansion of the armed forces is a basic part.

The American defense secretary spent one day in Tokyo where he talked with Prime Minister Ohira and the head of the Japanese defense agency, Kubota.

As reported by western agencies, Brown's main purpose was to persuade Japan to alter its present limited strategic plans by increasing military expenditures. Japan now spends less than 1 percent of its national budget on defense, which amounts to about 9.5 billion dollars, a relatively low sum for a economic power of over 100 million people. The United States would like Japan to take on greater responsibilities in the "defense of Southeast Asia".

The government in Tokyo did not take a definite position on this matter. The Japanese press reports that Defense Minister Kubota told Brown that Japan "will try" to maintain its military expenditures on a higher level, while Prime Minister Ohira promised that he will "analyse the concept", stipulating that it would require the nation's approval (as is known, the Japanese constitution does not permit maintenance of military forces for war or a regular army).

Thus, the results of Brown's visit in Tokyo do not signify, at least in the near future, fundamental changes in Japanese military policy. Nonetheless, this visit also may be added to the "new Asian strategy" announced by Washington. This strategy, now the subject of arduous study in the White House and the Pentagon, can, of course, assume various and even the least expected forms. And Washington's recent moves in this direction do not bode well for peace.

9295 CSO: 2600

#### 'PAP' CARRIES BIOGRAPHY OF PREMIER BABIUCH

LD181832 Warsaw PAP in English 1710 GMT 18 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Edward Babiuch was born on December 18th, 1927, at Grabocin near Bedzin. Completed economic studies at the Main School of Planning and Statistics and the Central Party School at the PUWP CC.

At the age of 14 he started working as a blue collar worker with the "Kazimierz" coal pit. After the liberation, he studied and was, at the same time, an activist of youth organizations. In 1948, E. Babiuch joined the Polish Workers' Party. From 1949 on, he discharged responsible functions with the voivodship board of the Polish youth union in Katowice and from 1950--with the main board of the Polish youth union.

In 1955, he came to work with the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and from 1959 he became secretary of the Warsaw voivodship committee of the PUWP. In 1963, he returned to the Central Committee, assuming the post of deputy head of the organizational department and of editor-in-chief of the "Zycie Partii" periodical. In the years 1965-1970 he was head of the organizational department of the PUWP CC.

He has been member of the PUWP CC since the 4th congress of the party in 1964. In 1970, E. Babiuch was elected member of the political bureau and secretary of the PUWP CC.

The 8th PUWP congress elected him member of the political bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party CC.

In the years 1972-1976, he was a member of the Council of State and from 1976--vice-chairman of the Council of State.

Today the Sejm called Edward Babiuch to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers, recalling him at the same time from the post of deputy president of the Council of State.

He is member of the praesidium of the National Unity Front, and a Sejm deputy.

Decorations: The Order of the Builders of People's Poland, the Order of the Banner of Labour, first and second classes, and other distinctions.

CSO: 2020 56

#### INTERNATIONAL PROTOCOLS, CONVENTIONS RATIFIED WITH RESERVATIONS

#### Modification of CEMA Statute

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 98, 10 Dec 79 p 1

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The Protocol on the modification of the Statute of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, signed in Moscow on 28 June 1979, is ratified.

Article 2—According to legislation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, agreements concluded in accordance with the provisions of Article 4, Point 4 of the Statute of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in which Romania participates, go into effect for Romania only after their ratification or approval by the appropriate organs of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 5 December 1979 No 419

#### Customs Convention

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 98, 10 Dec 79 pp 3, 9

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The Socialist Republic of Romania adheres to the customs convention regarding the international transportation of goods under the cover of TIR [International Highway Transport] (TIR Convention) cards, drawn up in Geneva on 14 November 1975, with the following reservation:

"The Socialist Republic of Romania makes it known, on the basis of the provision of Paragraph 1 of Article 58 of the customs convention relating

to the international transport of goods under the cover of TIR (TIR Convention) cards drawn up in Geneva on 14 November 1975, that it does not consider itself bound by the provisions of paragraphs 2-6 of Article 57 of this convention.

"The Socialist Republic of Romania believes that disagreements between two or more contracting parties in regard to the interpretation or application of the convention, which cannot be settled by means of negotiations or in any other manner, can be submitted for arbitration only with the consent of all parties involved in the dispute, for each case separately."

Article 2--With the depositing of the instrument of adherence to the convention, the following statement will be made:

"The Socialist Republic of Romania considers that the provisions of Article 52, Paragraph 1 of the convention are not in accordance with the principle that multilateral treaties whose object and purpose involve the international community in its totality should be open to universal participation."

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 5 December 1979 No 420

[Text of Article 52, Paragraph 1] All member states of the United Nations Organization or members of one of its specialized institutions or of the International Atomic Energy Agency, parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and any other state invited by the UN General Assembly can become contracting parties to the present convention:

- a) by signing it, without the condition of ratification, acceptance, or approval;
- b) by depositing an instrument of ratification, acceptance, or approval, after having signed it with the condition of ratification, acceptance or approval;

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c) by depositing an instrument of adherence.

#### Convention on the Latin Union

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 98, 10 Dec 79 p 49

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1-- The Socialist Republic of Romania adheres to the convention for the creation of the Latin Union, concluded in Madrid on 15 May 1954.

Article 2--With the depositing of the instrument of adherence, the following statement is made:

"The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania considers the expression' humanist and Christian (is dization' in paragraph 3 of the preamble of the convention to mean humanist civilization in the broadest sense, based on freedom of conscience and of religion, and, in the framework of this convention, all forms of civilization and culture of Latin origin."

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 5 December 1979

No 421

[Preamble of the Convention for the Creation of the Latin Union]

The signatory states of the present convention, aware of the mission of the Latin countries in the evolution of ideas as well as in the moral perfecting and material progress of the world, faithful to the spiritual values on which their humanist and Christian civilization is based, united by a common destiny and adhering to the same principles of peace and social justice, of respect for the dignity and freedom of the human person, and of the independence and integrity of nations, confident in the solidarity which historic antecedents and common ideals bring about and maintain among all peoples who base their policy on them, decide to join their efforts to assure the achievement of their cultural aspirations and thus to contribute to strengthening peace and to the moral perfecting and material progress of mankind and, for this purpose, create the Latin Union.

CSO: 2700

### MEMBERSHIP OF CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION CONFIRMED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 6, 24 Jan 80 pp 42-43

[Council of State Decree on the Confirmation of the Central Election Commission]

[Text] On the basis of Article 26, paragraph 1 of the Election Law of the Socialist Republic of Romania No 67/1974, the Council of State of the Socialist Pepublic of Romania decrees:

Sole article—For the election of deputies to the Grand National Assembly, which will take place on 9 March 1980, the Central Election Commission is confirmed, with the composition shown in the annex which is an integral part of the present decree.

# NICOLAE CEAUSESCU President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 23 January 1980

No 21--Annex to Council of State Decree No 21/1980 on the Confirmation of the Central Election Commission

Chairman: Ioan Ceterchi-chairman of the Legislative Council

Deputy chairman: George Petrescu-deputy chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions

Secretary: Georghe Chivulescu-member of the executive committee of the Association of Jurists

#### Hembers:

Maria Bobu--deputy chairman of the Bureau of the National Council of Women

Ioana Barbu--deputy chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives

Nicu Ceausescu--secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth

Gheorghe Gomoiu--lieutenant general, secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces

Ladislau Lorincz--deputy chairman of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality

Ernest Breitenstein-deputy chairman of the Council of Workers of German Nationality

Ioachim Moga--first deputy section chief in the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party

Gheorghe Balaita -- secretary of the Writers Union

Mariana Belis--deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity

Cornel Onescu--first deputy chairman of the Committee for Problems of Peoples Councils

Octavian Paler--chairman of the Council of Journalists

Ileana Iacobescu-deputy chairman of the Council of the Association of Communist Students of Romania.

CSO: 2700

INPLUENCE OF CHANGES IN WORK PROCESS ON EDUCATION

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romai in Dec 79 pp 2-5

[Article by Prof Petre Bartos\*]

[Text] 1. General Considerations

The development and modernisation of education under the impact of rapid socioeconomic changes and the scientific-technical revolution require the in-depth look at the concept of political strategy of education as a tool of spotting the possible impaired interrelations between daily practice and the overall strategy of the development of socialist Romania. The dependence of the struc-ture and functionality of educational institutions on the nature of the social formation, on the economic base and the class structure, the relation between school and the political institutions (party, state, and mass organisations) do not exclude but, on the contrary, presuppose the development of the political strategy of education. This strategy focuses on comprehension of the role of education in the country's socioeconomic development, in strenghtening the state, economic and political independence of Romania, and also on the development of education as a major component of the national policy under the conditions of the modern era. As pointed out in the report given to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the further development of education is a paramount goal of the next five-year plan. [1] The process of molding the new man -- as the secretary general of our party emphasised -- is "an inseparable component of the entire process of building socialism," [2] and in this area the school plays an essential role because it is the main factor of culture and civilisation, of professional molding and communist education of yourg generations.

<sup>\*</sup> The ideas contained in this article are part of the doctoral thesis on the topic: Political Strategy of Development of Education in Socialist Romania.

As a social phenomenon education also is, in the context of modern scientific-technical revolution, a chief factor of assertion and expansion of this revolution. Hence, the need for renewing the educational system and its contents and profile, for tackling the process of training and education in close relationship to the development of modern science and technology, research, and creativity. All this in order to ensure, as emphasized in the party program, the technical-vocational training of the members of society in the context of the rapid socioeconomic development of this country.

The analysis of the political strategy of education in socialist Romania involves comparing the various national forecasting estimates with education development programs in the modern world, beginning with those in socialist countries. Concurrently with critically presenting some political strategies which are expected to be prospective models, it is necessary to point out the common, progressive ingredients which stand out on a world scale in areas relating to the structure for the various types and levels of education, instructional methodology and technology, the aim and purports of education, and so forth.

In this context, it is necessary to place more emphasis on the dynamics of the relation ratween the development of education, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the material (economic and technical) and spiritual progress of Romanian society. Moreover, the prospects of the development of Romanian education should be surveyed in close relationship to the needs for the development of our socialist society. Furthermore, the dialectics of the relation between the immediate tasks and the long-range tasks of education is broadly reflected in the overall policy of constantly upgrading the level of culture, political-ideological training and specialisation of cadres, of working people, of all the people, in the party program and in the documents of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. A set of significant party and state decisions, such as those on the new structure of secondary and higher education, the broad specialized training of students, the integration of education with production, scientific research and sociopolitical practice, advancement of cadres under the system of retraining, improvement in the skills of all workers and periodical refresher courses for all experts, the switch to polyqualification for working people. upgrading and diversification of graduate and postgraduate training and other programs highlight the complexity and uniqueness of the political strategy of Romanian education, its open and dynamic nature, which constantly renews its structures, contents and methodology in light of the priority tasks and long-range objectives of our socialist society.

In shaping the complex model of the political strategy in developing education in socialist Romania of outstanding importance is placing emphasis on ensuring leadership of education at all levels by the Romanian Communist Party, as the leading political force of the entire society, exercise of the right to control by party organisations in schools and faculties, the closer and closer cooperation of the school with the other educational factors, such as the family, children and youth organisations, radio and television, the press, artistic and cultural institutions, and the input of work collectives in enterprises, construction sites, agricultural units, and institutions into improving the instructional and educational process, into achieving the complex program for modernisation of the school, for its integration with research and production, with sociopolitical life.

## 2. Resources of Education

Formulation of the strategy on the development of Romanian education by the year 2000 is based on the systemic method, as a method of analysis and construction. In accordance with its contents, we shall, in the first place, tackle the school resources and the requirements for qualification, based on the documents of the 12th Congress and some statistical calculations.

The number of students is a first resource of education. Therefore, in the first place, we shall dwell on this matter. As a starting point we take the statistical figures of the 1938/1939 academic year, trying to estimate the dynamics of school population by the year 2000, with the guideline-objective involving the overall increase in the population in the future, as reflected in the table of Appendix 1.

The dynamics of student bodies in the following decades is very strong, as also reflected in the above-mentioned table. There are many causes of this increase, from the major successes obtained in medicine in the fight against infant mortality, to the improvement in the material and spiritual standards, the greater importance of high skills for the work force, the real ensuring of the right to education, and so forth.

As can also be noted, because of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in society, in the human status, both all the population of this country and the school population have been increasing significantly during the last decades. For instance, while in 1938 school students numbered 1,781,290, in 1977 they numbered 5,365,978, accounting for 24.7 percent of Romania's population.

Estimates foresee that in 1980 the number of students will be about 5.537 million, in 1990, 6.473 million, and in the year 2000 it will exceed 7.4 million.

There will be significant changes probably during the next decades in terms of the number of students at the various levels of education, because in comparison to the 1938/1939 academic year, in 1977/1988 there were the following increases: preschool education, from 90,787 children to 837,884 children: primary and gymnasium education, from 1,575,477 to 3,153,016; lyceum education, from 34,541 to 1,039,050; vocational training, from 39,250 to 113,646; and higher education, from 26,489 to 182,337 students.

Attempts at estimating the future dynamics of school population in case of maintaining the current structure of organisation in education (3 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4, 5, 6) provided us with the following probable data: in preschool education, it is expected that in 1980 there will be about 1.1 million children and in 1990, more than 1.3 million, and around the year 2000, probably 3.5 million. There will be a significant expansion of lyceum education which by 1990, as a result of operation on an overall scale, will involve all children of lyceum school age. As an intermediate stage, as indicated in the Directives of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan will see the expansion and modernisation of education at all levels. The lyceum phase 1 will include the entire generation of graduates of the 8th grade and steps will be taken to ensure that almost 90 percent of students of phase I will attend industrial and agroindustrial lyceums. Moreover, the range of inclusion in lyceum phase II will expand to about 70 percent and conditions will be created to prepare the operation of lyceum training on an overall scale.

As for higher education, it is expected that it will experience the greatest expansion because of the high demand for highly trained and specialized personnel, specifically in the technical field, for the branches with the amplest development. Even if the rate of growth stays at the level for the last decade, in 1990, higher education would number about 250,000-270,000 students. However, because of the profound changes in the economy, in society, their number will probably be far greater and by the end of the century this number will double or even triple.

In our view, the growth of the student body will also involve the quality of the human material in the educational process as a result of the evident changes which take place in the material and spiritual conditions in our country, in the psychosomatic development of the buth. In this context, a qualitative increase also is expected in the composition of student bodies in the Romanian education system in the future.

## 3. Supply, Demand of Skills

With the other resources of education, the supply and demand of skills make up the backbone of every educational system. In light of the supply and demand of skills, the contents are organised, the demand for teachers is determined and the very makeup and process of education are structured. This also underlies the necessity for such determination. However, this effort is not simple. Estimations are needed which take into consideration both the overall guidelines to socioeconomic development in the future and the increases which occurred in the past decades. By using these procedures we tried to approximate the dynamics for the various economic branches by the year 2000.

In determining the figures pertaining to the greater supply of jobs in the coming years we used simple extrapolation. We determined the future medium of increase for each branch, starting as early as in 1950 until 1980. Then, we took into consideration the provisions under the Directives of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's development until 1990, we took into account the ampler expansion of some branches, such as industry, transportation, trade, education, science, and culture, health care, and so forth. Of course, the procedure was completed only for a minimal estimation. In the context of mainterance of the economic growth rates of the last 28 years, in the following decades in Romania there will be a tremendous expansion in terms of demand for manpower, specifically in the key branches.

According to overall hypotheses of research, it is expected that the rates of supply and demand of skills in the next decades will increase far more significantly than in previous decades. This will also change the figures which we provided, figures which only have an orientational value for an approximation of the possible changes in the Romanian educational system in coming years. We consider that this specification is necessary because a similar procedure was used by all long-term planners of education, [3] whose viewpoints and work results we briefly surveyed in the doctoral thesis.

A characteristic of demand for manpower in the following decades also involves the massive increase in the population working in the economy or in other social spheres. As is known, during the 1966-1976 period 2,233,500 new jobs were created. In the context

<sup>\*</sup> Even if they will be about 2 percent lower in the future, as anticipated in the Directives of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

of the maintenance of a high economic growth rate, we can expect a sharp increase in the work force. While in 1977, on a country-wide scale the sphere of socioeconomic activity employed a number of 10,264,300 people, it is a ticipated that in 1980 it will employ 10.437 million people, and in 1990, the number of workers in this sphere will stand at more than 11.9 million,\* and in the year 2000, it will exceed 13 million. Moreover, it is expected that Romania's total population will increase in 1990 to about 25 million and in the year 2000, to more than 28 million people.

Proceeding from the data on the dynamics of the population working in the various economic branches, we shall dwell on the impact on education as a result of the changes anticipated. For instance, the 1977 census pointed out that the last decade saw significant changes in the proportion of the population working in the economic area. In this context, as early as in 1970 industry and the other nonagricultural branches employed 50.9 percent of all the working population. This level increased in 1975 to 62.2 percent and it is expected that in 1980 it will go up to 72-73 percent and in 1990, to 85-88 percent. Correspondingly, as is normal, there will be a decrease in the number of people working in the agricultural sector. In 1980, this level will be 27-28 percent and in 1990, even 15 percent. Furthermore, a sharp increase is anticipated in the area of services, trade, transportation, and communal administration, which, according to estimates, will tend to involve 33 percent of the working people in the last decade of our century.

The exceedings anticipated in the structure of trades and professions do not involve only the groups of branches but also the specializations inside these branches. We must keep in mind the fact that the status of the working person under the imapet of the scientific-technical revolution undergoes profound changes. The working person ceases to be a simple agent of the production process and gradually becomes a supervisor and controller of this process. Moreover, there occurs gradually a (partial) liberation of the human body, the replacement of conventional machine-tools, of some logical functions of the brain. [4]

Already in the context of this stage of the scientific-technical revolution, there is not only an intellectualisation of work but also a change in the contents of physical and mental work. The changes involve physical work which is done by people with higher and higher skills, while mental work, which is diversifying, in its turn, entails the intensification and diversification of

<sup>\*</sup> The Directives of the 12th RCP Congress presage that 11.8-12 million people will be active in the socioeconomic area.

physical energy consumption. The creation of new economic branches and of new types of human activities triggers the "explosion" of new professions and trades. For instance, it is estimated that by the end of our century, eight out of ten trades will be new or totally renewed ones. This will occur in the context where the number of professions increased from about 2,000 to 35,000 in the last quarter of the century. [5]

Dynamics of Population and Student Bodies Between 1938-2000 1

	1938/1939	1948/1949	1977/1978	1980/1981	1990/1991	2000/2001
Populația țării Populația școlară,	14.280.725° 1.781.290	35.872.624 2.203.728	21,559,416 6,795,978	22.500.800° 5.537.600	25.608.600 6.473.600	28-30.000.000 7.100.000
- copu în grădinije - cievi - studenți Personal didactie	90.787 1.664.014 26.489 50.215	157.934 1.997.118 48.676 95.490	637.884 4.345.495 162.337 253.017	1.300.000	1.300.000 250—279.000	2.009,000
Unități de învățămînt învățămînt primar și gimnazial :	15.836	19.344	29.831			
- seoil F elevi personal didactie	13.454 1.575.477 39.935	14.771 1.791.182 61.501	14.608 3.153.016 148.922	3.500.000	1.200.000	5.100,000
Invdiamins ticeal:						
)- scoli - elevi - personal didactie	34.541 6.500	291 89,396 4,604	974 1.839.050 51.485			
Invatamine profesional :						
- scoti - elevi - personal didactic	224 39.250 896	\$1.1 \$1.372 4.314	113.646 3.318			
Inudiamint superior :						
facultăți studenți personal didactic	26.489	120 30.676	124 182,337		258—270.000	
֡֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜	Populația școlară, din care: — copu în grădinițe — cievi — studenți Personal didactic Unități de învățămînt Învățămint primar și gimnazial: — școli — elevi — personal didactic Învățămint profesional: — scoli — elevi — personal didactic Învățămint profesional: — scoli — elevi — personal didactic Învățămint profesional: — scoli — elevi — personal didactic ]nudțămint superior: — facultăți — studenți	Populația țării Populația școlară, din care : — copu în grădinițe — clevi — studenții Personal didactic Unități de învățămînt 13.654 [ elevi	Populația țării   14.280.729   15.872.634   Populația școlară, din care :	Populația țării   14.286.7293   15.872.634   21.559.416   Populația școlară, cin care :	Populația țării	Populația țării Populația scolară, cin care: - copu în grădinițe - cievi - studenți Personal didactic Unități de învățămînt Personal didactic Inudidmint liceal: - scoli - elevi - personal didactic Inudidmint profesional: - scoli - personal didactic Inudidmint profesional: - personal didactic Inudidmint profesional: - personal didactic Inudidmint liceal: - personal didactic Inudidmint profesional: - personal didactic Inudidmint profesional: - personal didactic Inudidmint liceal: - personal didactic Inudidmint profesional: - scoli - elevi - personal didactic Inudidmint superior: - faculiăți - studenți

Key:

- 1. Country's population
- 2. School population, out of which?
- 3. Children in kindergartens 4. School pupils
- 5. Students
- 6. Teaching staff
- 7. Teaching units
- 8. Primary and gymnasium edu- 17. Schools cations

- 9. Schools
- 10. School pupils
- 11. Teaching staff
- 12. Lyceum education
- 13. Schools
- 14. School pupils
- 15. Teaching staff
- 16. Vocational training
- 18. School pupils

Key (ctd.):

- 19. Teaching staff 20. Higher education
- 21. Paculties 22. Students

23. Teaching staff

- 24. 1. 1978 Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania
  - 2. After the census of 29 December 1930 3. Estimates for 1980, 1990 and 2000

The changes which took place in the work process, in the context of the scientific-technical revolution, also include other orientations and vistas. Among other things, it is a matter of interpretation of the factors which are common to various jobs, in the form of jobs characterised by a more and more complex content. In the context of elimination of the conventional barriers between various jobs, there is the need for a work force with a wide range of skills and with abilities of rapid adaptation to the changes which have occurred in technologies or in the means of production, specifically because under the conditions of work based on the use of machines, man is increasingly farther from the overall production process. [7]

As pointed out in the party documents, the further development of industry requires that professional changes involve the sophisticated branches. This also entails a reproportioning of professions, in light of the training level necessitated by the progress of socialist and communist construction in our country.

According to data svailable, in 1938 Romania had the following approximate structure of jobs: 80 percent manual jobs or jobs which required a minimal school training, 18 percent jobs which required secondary training, and 2 percent jobs which required college training. Now, according to our estimates, about 55 percent of the jobs require gymnasium training, 25-30 percent require secondary training, and 15-20 percent require college training. In the next decades projections involve a considerable increase in the number of jobs which require secondary and college backgrounds which together will total more than 85 percent (48-50 percent -- secondary training and 32-35 percent -- college training). This also provides the explanation for the RCP Program provision for the overall operation, in one or another form, of the second stage of lyceum, by 1990.

#### POOTNOTES

- 1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XII-lea Congres al Partidului Comunist Roman" (Report to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party), Ed. Politica, Bucharest, 1979, p 46.
- 2. Nicolae Ceausescu, Speech at the Pestive Meeting in Bucharest in Celebration of 23 August, SCINTEIA, 23 August 1979.
- "Planification a Long Terme des Politiques d'Enseignement" /Long-Term Planning of Education Policies/, OCDE, Paris, 1973.
- 4. V. Roman, "On the Overall Theory of Scientific-Technical Revolution," in "Revolutia Stiintifico-Tehnica si Progresul" / Scientific-Technical Revolution and Progress, Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1974, p 130.
- See: G. Chepes, E. Drob and M. Popesou, "Integrarea Profesionala" / Vocational Integration, Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1967, p. 26.
- 7. I. Traistaru, "Implicatiile Revolutiei Tehnico-Stiintifice"
  [Ramifications of the Scientific-Technical Revolution], Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1973, p 43.

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#### NEED FOR INTENSIFIED ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

# Dangers of Religion Cited

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian Nov 79 pp 31-34

Article by Univ Prof Dr Gh. Al. Cazan: "Scientific-Materialist and Atheist Education of Pupils As a Component Part of the Educational Process"

Text Scientific-materialist and atheist education of pupils, and of course not of them alone, is one of the most complex activities both because of the nature of the factors it involves and because of its purpose and the end to be achieved.

Essentially, scientific-materialist and atheist education is intended to form and develop a conception of the world that will envisage the latter in its natural (objective) state, but also a conception that will make of the world an object of man's transforming action.

We do not think the process of forming and accordingly of developing a scientific-materialist and atheist consciousness can be reduced to a single expression ("scientific-materialist education" or "atheist education") and consequently identified, as might be believed, with the achievement of either scientific-materialist education or atheist education. On the contrary, implementation of scientific-materialist and atheist education requires awareness of the fact that the "and" is conjunctive and can be made disjunctive only in error, or that the theory of scientific-materialist and atheist education is not composed of two parts that can be treated separately and distinctly in our interpretation, as stages that do not require or depend upon each other. On the contrary, we have to deal with an interpretation that effects the conjunction in a dialectically uniform way, and it does so partly on the basis of the distinctive features of the historical development of materialism and its relationship with atheism and, not lastly, on the need of the personality to assert itself as a unit in its system of universal reference to phenomena of nature, society and thought and to the phenomenon of its own self-awareness and feelings.

Unquestionably the personality's need of unity or uniform manifestation is fulfilled in accordance with the objective social-historical factors, the conditions created and provided the individual by certain types of human society, the degree of development of science and culture, and the institutional factors that do or do not provide direct or indirect relations of the individual or of the social groups and classes with the results of the sciences etc.

We feel that according to the logic of the historical-philosophical process we should note that materialism implied atheism as one of its conclusions, but we should also note that atheism was not necessarily a conclusion of materialism alone. To be sure atheism (certainly in some of its forms) was implicit in materialism or a consequence of it in the ancient and modern periods, but in the contemporary era atheism is shared and developed even in some idealist doctrines.

But what is characteristic of our conception of the materialism-atheism correlation lies partly in the consistency and completeness of materialism (processes of nature, society, thought and human life) and partly in the dialectical unity between materialism and atheism and in the fact that dialectical and historical materialism is a consistent atheism while Marxist atheism in its turn is complete and consistent itself.

The scientific term, in its turn, appears to us not only as a determination of materialism, and therefore not only as a note specifying one of its forms, but also as a constant need to relate materialism to science and to relate a general conception of the world to the results of the "particular" sciences.

Viewed in this light, scientific-materialist and atheist education is at the same time an education in the spirit of materialist philosophy and so also of dialectical materialism, the natural sciences, and a scientific-materialist view of religion.

Etymologically, the term "atheism" has a clearly negative sense, meaning the negation of religion. Of course in the case of Marxist atheism it does not mean a metaphysical negation of it, but a causal explanation accompanied by illustration of its social role in various stages of history. Marxist atheism is at the same time analytical and critical.

Scientific-materialist and atheist education accordingly comprises a general philosophical content, a scientific one, and a critical analysis of religion Reducing the series of components and the uniform purpose to any one aspect of the whole means setting a strategy that can and actually does have consequences that limit the education imparted and so also the educational effort as such.

We should like to point out here that scientific-materialist and atheist education equally requires all the disciplines taught in schools, since it is a requirement in this respect that is to be met by any educator regardless of his subject. In scholastic practice some teachers have the idea (which we

have encountered particularly in discussions or in connection with final or intermediate examinations) that scientific-materialist education is the prerogative and duty of teachers of social sciences in general and those of philosophy in particular. When asked just how they form the pupils' scientificmaterialist and atheist conception with the disciplines they teach, many teachers made the most general and vague replies and finally maintained that
scientific-materialist and atheist education is the duty of the philosophy
teacher.

It would be simplistic to maintain that scientific-materialist and atheist education is the sole objective of school education, or that any lesson, regardless of its subject, should include atheist principles. But on the other hand we do not think scientific-materialist and atheist education can be evaded by a teacher, whether he is a teacher of physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology etc., particularly because each and every discipline necessarily operates with philosophical concepts and categories, refers to a general conception of the world, and involves the need of an attitude valuing the phenomena and theorems taken up.

The problem which is presented by school practice and which is especially felt as such by the students is that of a plausible explanation, namely one that does not strive for the interpretation at any cost and does not conform to the theory, principle or description of a phenomenon or particular groups of phenomena limited to a given field of science. Any forced interpretation which misses or ignores the muances for mostly subjective-informative reasons, which postulates without deducing, which is informative rather than logical, and which accordingly "shrinks from" the demonstration confuses and misleads the pupil's consciousness, creating an imbalance not only on the level of organization of concepts but also on that of the emotions, feelings, and emotional capabilities of perceiving the phenomena.

Therefore if the pupils are to receive a scientific-materialist and atheist education as an indispensable part of their socialist awareness, at least four conditions must be met: (1) sound knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism; (2) sound knowledge of the special discipline; (3) mastery of the scientific method of criticizing religion, and (4) the art of operating with the relations involved in the analyzed fact or theory and making a convincing demonstration.

We consider these conditions necessary, but they are not sufficient. On the contrary, or more exactly alongside them, a number of other highly complex factors are involved, a series of subtle direct and indirect relationships and an existential field extending from the individual considered in the entirety of his ideas, impressions and feelings to the environment that surrounds him (family, group, social relations), predominant socioeconomic, political and ideological situations, etc.

Without making any claim to an exhaustive analysis, and even considering it impossible here, we nevertheless entertain what is rather an indication of an attitude and a solution, to the effect that scientific-materialist and

atheist education requires knowledge of the pupil's psychology, sensitivity and degree of intellectual development in correlation with knowledge of his living conditions and the influences to which he is subject or has to bear in certain situations.

Any routine activity, indiscriminate blanket treatment of pupils, and consideration of them as objects instead of subjects of education, and abstract entities instead of specific living realities and beings with an infinity of needs and aspirations that are not always in harmony with each other (especially at a certain age), all these lead to the defeat of scientific-materialist and atheist education. What is more, as the psychopedagogical and somiological studies prove, routine and quasidogmatic treatment of pupils and failure of the educational process to meet the pupil's particular conditions give free play to factors, ideas and ideologies that are by their mature in complete conflict with the objective requirements of formation and development of a proper reflection of the natural and social world.

It is worth our while to dwell briefly on the latter, especially since they are proliferating in the world of today and trying in the most diverse ways to subvert the consciousness in order to make it an instrument of the backward interests.

Two examples may be important because of their proportions and significance: (1) the proliferation of the sects in Romania, especially the neo-Protestant ones, their efforts to proselytize, and their increasing interest in the categories of the population with no high degree of culture and in some categories of youth, and (2) the proliferation of mysticism and irrationalism on the international level and in the capitalist countries, especially the developed ones, and the pronounced intrusion of mysticism and irrationalism in political phenomena, an intrusion that takes its brutal, aggressive and profoundly antihuman form in neofascism.

All the sectarian movements and especially those outside the law are characterized by mysticism carried to the point of annihilation of reason and consequently to the wish to make the individual a blind instrument, an object of psychological manipulation, and a being unhappy with his environment and with himself.

The malady of mysticism descends with its vagueness into the depths of the spirit and means to master the subtle movement of the human spirit. We are taking no license when we say that it binds the fundamental reactions of the human psyche like a net with thousands of loops, and that the human psyche as a prey of mysticism is a contorted, extremely painful reflex of a human life that dissipates its own nature in an imagined nature, a reflex of a pring that makes of suffering an endless need of suffering. And we may even go so far as to say that the suffering the mystic takes on becomes an enjoyment of suffering.

We think this transformation of suffering into enjoyment of suffering is the key to explanation of the psychological mechanism of mysticism, its hidden

secret and, for an inquiring mind, the unveiled mystery of mysticism.

In their attempts to proliferate some sects deliberately penetrate into the most varied environments, using means of persuasion that often produce the expected results. Equipped with modern means, playing upon people's feelings to the point of producing paradoxical states, and exploiting the failures in people's lives in favor of the sect, as well as the bureaucratic behavior and indifference of some organs or individuals invested with social functions, the illegal neo-Protestant sects concentrate on undermining people's confidence in achieving their happiness on earth and on depriving man of any hope in his strength and capacity. They are equally intent on undermining confidence in socialism. Deliberately violating the law, some sectarians take stands hostile to our society, disparage the social-political and economic situation in Romania, and deliberately and maliciously distort the system of socialist rights and freedoms.

Under the guise of the Right to Belief, a right guaranteed by law, they transform belief into politics and give it an evident antisocialist and anti-democratic interpretation. We think the illegal sects, but not those alone, harbor profoundly antihuman and antidemocratic ideas and practices. The idea of the chosen ones and "those called" and the idea that the end of the world will bring their "happiness" alone, if we overlook their illusory nature, support the inequality of people on earth and mean to maintain the inequality according to arbitrary criteria.

Knowledge of the doctrines of the sects and cults as well as the objective and subjective causes that generate and maintain them is a necessity inherent in the educational process and in the constant need to form a man who can be taken for himself, who can understand his nature and mission in this world as the only existence, and who can also understand that religion, as Marx said, is only the false sun that turns about man before man is turned about himself.

The recrudescence of mysticism and irrationalism in the United States and the countries of Western Europe is primarily due to the crisis of the contemporary capitalist system, and it is also an expression of the crisis of current bourgeois ideology.

The recrudescence of mysticism is attested not only by the influence of mystic practices but also by the publication of many works presenting mysticism as the sole alternative to the socioeconomic and political realities of capitalism, leaving unchanged the civil society and political relations of the capitalist system, which is the object of the only authentic protest.

In some philosophical doctrines, supported and promoted by the most diverse means (the columns of newspapers and magazines, publishing houses, radio and TV), the attempt is made, while promoting spiritualism, to accredit the idea that force is the determining factor of history and domination of men by men always accompanies istorical experience. Characteristic of the "new position," these ideas (to which is added a definite antidemocratic and anticommunist stand on the part of its representatives) culminate in the works of Ph.

Nemo, B. H. Levy, J. M. Benoist et al. in the proposal of a "new" model of man receptive to transcendent experience, namely the religious man.

In the name of this "new" model an equally bitter and unfounded "critique" of the humanisms is being conducted, and the "death" of all humanisms is maintained as a corollary.

The idea of the "religious man" is accordingly associated with the idea of the death of the humanisms. And in the end, and not only there, this is equivalent to promoting antihumanism. A spiritualist theory could only end in the apology for religion, and antihumanism is a premise and corollary of antihumanism.

However the "new philosophers" would deny it, this is also the reason why their conception has served the "new right" of fascist orientation, represented by Alaine de Benoist and L. Pauwels. And by virtue of the elitism it means to superimpose on the distorted findings of genetics, the "new right" is a theory of social inequality, a brutal demial of the democratic rights and freedoms, an open apology for the barbarous practises of the former fascist movements, a revival of the "cult of force and destruction," etc.

The world must react in one way or the other to the revival of mysticism and irrationalism, to their renewal and adoption by neofascism. That is why in educational practice we must take account of the complexity of these phenomena, their harmful influence, and their aims and intentions.

Teaching Guide for Students, Parents

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL in Romanian Nov 79 pp 14-18

/Text/ The Ministry of Education and Instruction has taken a number of measures recently to intensify the pupils' scientific-materialist education. At the editors' request the Directorate of Social Sciences and Educational and Athletic Activities has sent us the specifications concerning these measures which we publish below.

Acting on behalf of socialist and communist construction in Romania, the RCP is emphasizing formation of the new man and full use of all society's resources for the formation and all-around development of the human personality.

The pupils' scientific-materialist education is an essential part of the process of forming the new man and training youth for work and life. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out from the high tribunal of the 12th Party Congress, "It is a task of first importance to form the scientific conception of matter, the universe, and the society of the communists and working masses. The persistence of mystical, backward ideas in some people's thinking checks their full assertion in social activity." Among the main purposes of the instructive-educational process the new Law on Education and Instruction mentions in Article 12 b "mastery by pupils and students of the RCP's policy and ideology, scientific socialism, and the dialectical-materialist and historical conception of the world and life and the formation of

advanced people as active builders of socialism and communism."

The Romanian socialist state guarantees all citizens freedom of conscience, but the citizens also have the obligation to consider and meet the requirements of the laws of our system. Note also that freedom of conscience does not mean freedom of religious belief alone, but also freedom not to believe and to be an atheist, and the freedom and obligation of the state and the cultural and scientific institutions to provide for development of the advanced consciousness, based on mastery of scientific and cultural advances and dialectical-materialist ideology. At the Plenum of the Party Central Committee of 4-5 July 1979 Nicolae Ceausescu said that we must be "more active in promoting our philosophical, revolutionary conceptions of the world and society. We must be more aggressive and not close our eyes or leave the way open to the various backward conceptions. Our revolutionary conception and the obligation of the communist and party activist to fight for it are not to be confused with our state policy of respecting everyone's belief and conception."

In pursuance of the party leadership's directives to increase efforts to form the new ran and to enhance the masses' socialist awareness, the Ministry of Education and Instruction has taken a number of measures to intensify scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist indoctrination of preschool children, pupils and students, recommending that the school inspectorates, school and high-school administrations, and all teachers observe the following guidelines and requirements in their activity:

1. In education on all levels, the instructive-educational process is the main factor for scientific-materialist education of youth. Each in its way, all the disciplines have many potentials for contributing to youth's education, including atheist indoctrination. Fulfillment of these potentials critically depends upon the teachers, their qualifications, and close contact and collaboration among them. Therefore the pupils' intensified scientificmaterialist education must be regarded as a constant effort to enhance the instructive process, the power of demonstration and the convincing character of the lessons, discussions and practical activities. The school inspectorates are to take effective steps on behalf of collaboration among departments and teachers in various fields by means of: joint discussion of lessons and common agreement on the philosophical and social-political conclusions to be pointed out, mutual aid in classes and discussion of proposed improvements in the approach to problems from the standpoint of intensified formation of the scientific-materialist conception, and joint preparation by teachers teaching various disciplines of studies, scientific reports etc., a process leading to a better understanding of the close interdependence among the study disciplines.

In view of these considerations the programs have been improved both for preschool and primary education and for secondary and high-school education, so that not only the social sciences but all the study disciplines will contribute more to the preschool children's and pupils' scientific-materialist education.

- 2. In the course of the pupils' productive experience, emphasis will be placed upon understanding of the phenomena and processes in nature and society, development of the scientific horizon, and encouragement of their creativeness and interest in the new and in science and technology. Laboratory and shop activity will further emphasize use of active methods of instruction (experiment, demonstration, setting problems, discovery, group work, case studies, etc.) that will stimulate interest in knowledge and form sound convictions about the material nature of the world, the evolution of human society, and the possibility of knowing and changing it.
- 3. To improve the methods of teaching the various disciplines, it is directed (a) to revise the organization of all laboratories and rooms of social sciences, geography and natural sciences so that they will regularly meet the requirements of the pupils' scientific-materialist education, and (b) to supplement the sets of instructive films, slides and sheets for retroprojectors on subjects concerning scientific-materialist education. For this purpose the school inspectorates will ask the Central Office for Educational Resources (according to Supplement 1 and the specifications in the circulated catalogs) to supplement the sets or to equip the rooms and laboratories with what they need to organize more regular activities for the pupils' scientific-materialist education.
- 4. School radio and TV broadcasts will be guided and implemented so that they will best meet the requirements for developing the role of the instructive process in the scientific-materialist education of youth. It is accordingly the duty of the educational units and all teachers to help popularize the school radio and TV broadcasts and contribute to their effective use in the instructive-educational process.
- 5. The classroom hours will have to be better organized and guided by the school and high-school administrations so that they will contribute more to the pupils' scientific-materialist education. The classroom teachers will have to know every pupil's family situation exactly and request close cooperation with the family to impart a sound education of youth.
- 6. Schools and high schools will organize consultations with the pupils' parents with a program of reports, speeches or discussions in accordance with the specific problems that arise. The subjects on which such activities can be organized are included in Supplement 2. The level and interests of the audience will be considered, as well as the requirement that the activities be accompanied as far as possible by films and slides.
- 7. To enhance the effort to improve the teachers' qualifications, the following subjects have been introduced in all disciplines in the individual study programs of the improvement courses:
- a. Main reasons for the persistence of religious ideas in Romania in the present stage, and ways and means of eliminating them; relationship between the Romanian state and the religious cults;

- b. Methodology of pupils' scientific-materialist education in schools;
- c. Methodological strategies characteristic of the various disciplines for purposes of the pupils' scientific-materialist education,

Discussions will be organized on these subjects, conducted by a collective composed of teachers of the courses in social sciences, pedagogy-psychology and the subject discipline. There will also be an exchange of experience on these occasions, based on the student teachers' presentations of their experience. Moreover the social science teachers that took the improvement courses in October 1979, as well as those completing their training in October 1979, will be directed to emphasize study of dialectical and historical materialism. A larger number of teachers will take up problems of scientific-materialist education as part of the final subjects, on the example of the schools in which they work or the counties to which they belong.

- 8. The subject matter of the pupils' political-ideological instruction courses will include subjects for scientific-materialist education and combatting idealism and mysticism.
- 9. In organising holidays, programs that will contribute to knowledge of natural and social phenomena and to intensive study and practical application of the disciplines acquired in school are to be promoted to a greater extent.
- 10. The repertoires of the theatrical units, theatrical collage units, literary montage units and artistic brigades, in connection with the national Cintarea Romaniei Festival, must include performances with subject matter emphasizing the superiority and profoundly scientific character of the revolutionary conception of the working class as contrasted with the mystical-religious conception. Original creative works (plays, proce, films etc.) will be encouraged that are devoted to formation and consolidation of scientific and materialist convictions and combat mystical influences, pejudices and super-stitions.
- ll. Concerning scientific research on subjects related to scientific-materialist education, the Third National Symposium on Pupils' Scientific-Materialist Education will be held in the first quarter of 1980. In accordance with the directives of the Ministry of Education and Instruction sent to the educational units with No 699 in February 1979, discussions will be organised in the schools and high schools on basic and methodological problems, with emphasis on particular ways and means of pupils' scientific education and the teachers' tasks in this activity. The scientific reports read at the first and second national symposiums on scientific-materialist education (printed in special volumes by REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE) must be considered, so that the members of the third symposium will carry on some studies made on this subject. Moreover the specific aspect of the reports must be emphasized because general reviews were semetimes presented that made no progress in the approach to the respective problem.

On behalf of the efficiency of the activity of high-school atheist circles, we recommend the subjects included in Supplement 3, with organization of the circles for the duration of ?-3 years. These subjects are tentative and will be used according to the nature and possibilities of each particular educational unit and circle. Various actions to encourage pupils' participation in discussions, colloquiums, reports and evenings of questions and answers will be based on the proposed subjects. The most diverse use is recommended of modern audio-visual equipment, diagrams, tables, literary works etc, suited to each selected subject.

12. Steps are to be taken to expand the pupils' technical-scientific and practical circles to stimulate their scientific and technical interests, for their scientific-materialist education, and for intensive study of our party's and state's conception of the world and life.

Political-educational work in general and scientific-materialist education of youth in particular cannot stop at formal generalizations but must proceed further to individual guidance. To this end schools and high schools should pay more attention to the particular problems that arises in the pupils' and teachers' lives (birthdays, marriages etc.). Futhermore the measures taken by way of scientific-materialist education must be thoroughly prepared. More emphasis is needed on the qualitative aspect and on developing the role of all teachers in the process of scientific-materialist education of the pupils.

Supplement 1: List of Teaching Aids for Pupils' Scientific-Materialist Education

Teaching aids for pupils' scientific-materialist education are an important part of the program for equipping educational institutions. According to the method, the county school inspectorates and the ministries with schools under their jurisdiction receive the Annual Catalog of Teaching Aids to place orders according to requirements, funds and the network. Catalogs of teaching films made are also circulated annually so that the county school inspectorates and the ministries can take steps to reproduce them according to the mumber of cinema projectors in the network.

The 1979 catalogs include the following teaching aids, designed and made to be integrated in lessons in aid of the pupils' scientific-materialist education:

I. Teaching Films

Social Disciplines:

- 1. Roots and Social Functions of Religion (high school)
- 2. Material Unity of the World (high school, higher education)
- 3. Awareness and Reflection (high school)
- 4-6. Dialectical-materialist Determinism (series of three films for high school and higher education): (a) Conditioning-Causality, (b) Necessity-Chance,

# Possibility-Reality, and Law, and (c) Social Determinism and Freedom

- 7-11. Conflict Between Materialism and Idealism (series of five films for high school and higher education: (a) Conflict Between Materialism and Idealism in Ancient Philosophy, (b) Conflict Between Materialism and Idealism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, (c) Conflict Between Materialism and Idealism in Modern Philosophy, (d) Conflict Between Materialism and Idealism in Contemporary Philosophy, and (e) Conflict Between Materialism and Idealism in Romanian Philosophy)
- 12. The RCP, the Vital Center of Our Nation (high school)
- 13. Socialist Democracy (high school)
- 14. Role of the Masses and the Personality in History (high school)

## Physics

- 15. Bolipses (secondary school)
- 16. Electricity in the Atmosphere (secondary school)
- 17. Gravitation (high school)
- 18. Plasma and its Applications (high school)
- 19. Model of the Atom (high school)
- 20. Structure of the Atomic Nucleus (high school)

## Chemistry

- 21. Structure of the Electronic Cover (high school)
- 22. Crystalline Structure of Matter (high school)
- 23. Structure of Metals and Alloys (high school)

## Biology

- 24. Creative Role of Selection (high school)
- 25. Origin and Evolution of Mammals (high school)
- %. The Vegetal Cell (high school)
- 27. Cellular Division (high school)
- 28. Bacteria and Their Role in Nature (high school)
- 29. Seed Germination (high school)

- 30. Phylogeny and Ontogeny in Plants (high school)
- 31. The Plant in Nature (high school)
- 32. Adaptations in Animals (high school)

## Geography

- 33. Movements of the Earth (high school, higher education)
- 34. Action of Internal Agents on the Earth's Crust (high school)
- 35. Formation and Paleogeographic Evolution of Romania's Land (high school, higher education)
- II. Slides

#### Social Sciences

- 36. Dialectical and Historical Materialism (high school)
- 37. History of Philosophy (high school)
- 38. Construction of Fully Developed Socialist Society (high school)
- 39. Economic Growth and Effectiveness of All Economic Activity in Romania (high school)
- 40. Remote Origins of Human Society (high school)
- 41. Documentary Pictures from the History of the RCP (high school, higher education
- 42. Formation of the RCP (high school)
- 43. Pages from the History of the Revolutionary and Democratic Youth Movement in Romania (high school, higher education)
- 43a. People of Note on Science and Religion, T, II

# Biology

- 44. Selection As a Factor of Evolution (secondary school, high school)
- 45. Development of the Human Embryo (secondary school, high school)
- 46. Ecology (secondary school)
- 47. Let us Protect and the Emvironment (primary school)
- 48. Knowledge of Nature (primary school)

III. Retroprojector Sheets

Chemistry

49. Chemistry: Chemical Processes and Phenomena (high school)

Biology

50. General Biology; Ecology: Interspecific and Intraspecific Relations in the World of Plants, Animals and Man (secondary school, high school)

IV. Laboratory Equipment

Physics

51. Physics Kit for Pupils (secondary school)

52. Physics Kit for Pupils (high school)

Chemistry

53. Chemistry Kit for Pupils (secondary school)

54. Chemistry Kit for Pupils (high school)

Biology

55. Biology Kit for Pupils (secondary school)

56. Biology Kit for Pupils (high school)

57. Dissection and Microscopy Kit (secondary school, high school)

Supplement 2: Subjects of Scientific-Materialist Education for Consultations with Parents

What is the sky? Galaxies, stars, planets, Meteorites. Falling stars. The solar Bystem. Place of the earth in the universe. Life on other planets. Conquest of the Cosmos.

How the universe was formed. Initial explosion theory.

Celestial phenomena. Eclipses of the sun and moon. Aurora Borealis. Rainbows and mirages.

Meteorological phenomena. Wind, cyclones, hurricanes. Rain and drought. Lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, hail, frost and snow.

Earth's structure and relief. Their formation. Volcanoes, movements of the crust, earthquakes.

Appearance and evolution of life on earth. Evolution of species.

Origin of man

The truth about human races.

Heredity and environment. Man's genetic intervention.

Life and death. What is after death? The truth about ghosts and phantoms.

What is the soul?

Appearance of myths. Their mutual influences and transmission.

Myths about animals: the owl, little owl, bats, cats etc.

Scientific and popular medicine. Kitchen physics. Spells and charms.

Sleep, dreams and their scientific explanation.

How the child's psyche develops.

Some less-known psychic phenomena: hallucinations, hypnotism, suggestion, and telepathy.

Fantacism and intolerance in the history of conceptions of the world and life.

Healers and quacks.

Development of human civilization and culture. Various peoples' contributions. Causes that have aided or hindered it in various parts of the world.

Man's capacity to exploit natural resources and to change the geographic environment.

Worldwide distribution of natural resources and its political-economic consequences.

Man and nature.

Material nature of the world. Unity and infinity of the material world.

Knowledge of the material world and prediction of its phenomena.

The methods of knowledge. The laws of nature. Prediction and prophesy.

Freedom and destiny (fate).

Scientific knowledge and human creation.

The structure of matter.

The theory of relativity.

The laws of conservation and transformation of energy and matter.

Relationship between matter and consciousness.

Supplement 3: Tentative Subjects for Circles For Scientific-Materialist Education

- 1. Nature of religion as a form of social consciousness. Religion as alienated consciousness and a distorted reflection of reality.
- 2. Components of religion as a social-historical phenomenon: religious ideology, the psychological component, the cult and religious institutions.
- 3. Radical opposition between science and religion.
- 4. Principles of the current fideist conception and their ideological and class substratum.
- 5. The church and the economic, political and social problems of the modern world. Political policies and trends among religious cults and sects.
- 6. Social, psychological and other causes of the formation and maintenance of religious phenomena and fideist conceptions. Importance of their consideration in scientific-materialist indoctrination.
- 7. Position of the RCP and our socialist state on religion and religious institutions.
- 8. Role of scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist education in the formation and development of youth's intellect.
- 9. The current scientific-technical revolution. Its impact upon the formation of people's scientific-materialist conception.
- 10. Humanist content of adolescerts' aspirations and life ideal.
- 11. Man's purpose in life and creative power.
- 12. Human happiness and dignity as a constant personal effort to outdo oneself in training, occupation and relations with others.
- 13. Secular holidays and the historical origin of religious caremonies and holidays.

- 14. Culture and religion. Revolutionary humanism and the false solution of man's problems promoted by religion and the church.
- 15. Socialist morality and religious morality. The practical-revolutionary solution of man's life problems and moral aspirations in our society.
- 16. The militant, scientific-materialist spirit as a moral-political trait and honorable duty of every youth.
- 17. Religion as a distorting view of love, marriage and relations between the sexes.
- 18. Religious "love" and "kindness" compared with close and authentic comradely and friendly support.
- 19. Antihumanist purpose of some sectarian religious practices.
- 20. Methods and techniques of sociopsychological study of the religious phenomenon that can be used in the activity of pupils' circles for scientific-materialist education.
- ?1. Preparation of the monographic study on the religious phenomenon in the county.

These subjects are tentative and will be used according to the nature and possibilities of each individual educational unit and circle. Various actions to activate the pupils will be based on the proposed subjects, such as discussions, colloquiums, reports and evenings of questions and answers. As far as possible, internal microstudies will be made of the local relifious phenomena. We recommend the most varied use of modern, audio-visual and other aids suited to each selected subject.

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## DECREE ON EVALUATION OF EXPROPRIATED BUILDINGS, LAND

Bucharest BULETIBUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 3, 4 Jan 80 pp 1-2

State Council Decree on the Appraisal of Constructions, Land and Plantations That Are Taken, With Payment, Into State Ownership Through Expropriation or in Other Cases Provided by Lay

Text The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. For constructions that are taken into state ownership through expropriation from physical or legal persons other than socialist units, the compensation is established on the basis of the appraisal standards and the conditions provided in Appendix 1.\*

Article 2. The compensation for expropriated constructions achieved with the state's help in loans and execution or bought from the state housing supply, under the conditions of Lew Ho 4/1975, is established at the value written in the construction or purchasing contract, less the resulting depreciation calculated in accordance with Table 4 in Appendix 1.

For the cases in which loans grant the state have not been repaid completely by the date of expropriati so sums oved the Savings and loan Bank, which are transferred to it, and ithheld from the due compensation.

Article 3. In the case of the expropriation of constructions belonging to cooperative or public organisations, the compensation will be established at the level of this property's inventory value existing in the bookkeeping records, less the depreciation.

Article 4. Expropriated buildings pass into state ownership on the date of the actual takeover of them for demolition.

Article 5. For land and viticultural and posicultural plantations that are taken into state ownership through expropriation, the compensation is established on the basis of the appraisal standards provided in Appendix 2.\*

<sup>\*</sup> The appendix is communicated to the institutions involved.

article 6. Constructions, land and viticultural and pomicultural plantations that are taken over through expropriation pass into state ownership free from any encumbrances.

Article 7. The appraisal of constructions, land and viticultural and pomicultural plantations that are taken into state ownership is done by appraisal commissions established by means of decisions of the executive committees of the county people's councils or that of the municipality of Bucharest, which will have the composition provided in Appendix 3.\*

Article 8. The former owners can appeal against the appraisal report prepared by the commission mentioned in Article 7, within 15 days after the date of the communication in writing of the sum established as compensation.

The appeals are resolved by the executive committees of the county people's councils or that of the municipality of Bucharest within at most 30 days after the date of their filing.

Article 9. The payment of compensation due as a result of the taking of expropriated real estate into state ownership is done by the units to which this property has been assigned, from investment funds or from other funds provided by law, as the case may be.

The materials resulting from the demolition of expropriated constructions can be turned over to the former owner for reconstruction of the dwelling or for other household needs, with their value being subtracted from the due compensation. The value of the materials is determined at the retail price, from which the resulting depreciation, established by the appraisal commission mentioned in Article 7, is deducted.

Article 10. Former owners who continue to live in expropriated buildings prior to the date that the present decree goes into effect will pay, from this date to the actual takeover of the buildings for demolition, an annual rent equal to the tax on buildings and the insurance premiums through the effect of the law.

Former owners of expropriated buildings who owe rent for periods prior to the present decree will pay this debt, without extra charges for lateness.

Article 11. The provisions of the present decree are also applied in the cases of the taking of real estate, with payment, into state ownership on the basis of Law No 4/1975, Law No 58/1974, Decree No 223/1974, Decree No 221/1960 and Decree Fo 841/1964.

Article 12. Article . Decree No 545/1958 on the Regulation of the Placement of Constructions and of the Passage Into State Ownership of Land

<sup>\*</sup> The appendix is communicated to the institutions involved.

and of Constructions Needed for the Performance of Work or of Actions of State Interest, Council of Ministers Decision No 1,676/1959 for the Application of Article 6 of Decree No 545/1958, and any other provisions contrary to the present decree are repealed.

> Micolae Ceausescu, Chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 28 December 1979. No 467.

12105 CSO: 2700 LAW ON SOCIAL COUNCILS, FEDERAL SOCIAL COUNCILS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 34, 20 Jul 79 pp 1069-1072

[Text] The Law on the Bases of Social Councils and Federal Social Councils

Part One: The Bases of Social Councils

I. Basic Provisions

Article 1.

This law establishes the bases for founding, the positions and the work of social councils and the foundation, position, organization and manner of operations of federal social councils.

Article 2.

In order to exert an organized social influence on the assurance of democratic self-management social decisionmaking by the consistent application of the delegate system, to obtain the organized creative support of the development of socialist self-management socioeconomic and political relationships, and to affect the broadest possible social influence on the implementation of the function of authority and the establishment and implementation of policy and the governing of other social functions, agencies of sociopolitical communities, sociopolitical organizations, certain scholarly, specialist, and other self-management organizations and communities, and social organizations (hereafter called "participants in the work of councils") may establish social councils jointly to realize their rights, obligations and responsibilities.

Social councils shall be established as a form of organization of democratic exchange and coordination of opinions, interaction, and consultation concerning basic questions of establishing and implementing policies and the development of social self-management relationships and in order to provide assistance in the preparation, approval and execution of social and self-management decisions.

The work of social councils shall be based on scientific and scholarly accomplishments, on the self-management socialist conscience and on self-management practice, and on specialized knowledge and experience.

#### Article 3.

Social councils shall be established as social councils of the sociopolitical community and as social councils of the administration of individual administrative areas, or for individual administrative agencies.

In economic chambers and other general associations, and in other self-management organizations and communities, if there is a need for broader establishment of social influence on their work and the performance of their functions, in accordance with this law and prior agreement, these organizations may establish bodies or other organized forms for affecting social influence that functions in accordance with the position and role of the social councils.

#### Article 4.

Social councils of sociopolitical communities shall be established by law or by decision of the municipal assembly or other sociopolitical community, on the basis of a prior agreement of participants in the work of the council.

Social councils of the administration of individual administrative areas or for individual agencies of administration shall be established by law or by the decision of a municipal assembly or other sociopolitical community, on the basis of a prior agreement of participants on the work of the council.

Bodies or other organized forms for the implementation of social influence described in article 3 point 2 of this law shall be established by a general self-management act.

#### Article 5.

Participants in the work of the council shall appoint their delegates for the work in a social council, depending on the matters that are on the agenda of a session of the council.

#### Article 6.

In accordance with the program of work of a council, scientific and specialized organizations and communities that are not participants in the work of the council may take part in the work of the social councils, as may sociopolitical, scientific, specialized and public figures as individuals.

#### Article 7.

In accordance with the work program of a council, agencies, organizations and communities that are not participants in the work of the council have the right to participate in the work of social councils if the councils are considering matters that are of direct interest to the work and the performance of the functions of such agencies, organizations or communities.

#### Article 8.

The act establishing a social council shall contain provisions regarding the area for which the council is being established, the participants in the work of the council and the manner in which they will participate in the work of the council, the manner in which resources will be assured for the work of the council, and the manner in which specialized and other operations for the needs of the council will be performed, as well as provisions concerning other questions of significance for the work of the council.

#### Article 9.

Social councils shall establish opinions and proposals at the sessions of the council.

Social councils may establish task forces to consider individual questions and to prepare opinions and proposals of the council.

#### Article 10.

Social councils will operate in accordance with work programs that they establish.

Social councils will consider individual questions at the suggestion of participants in the work of the council, or on the basis of initiatives for considering individual questions accepted in the council that have been proposed by agencies, organizations and communities that do not participate in the work of the council, by working people, and by citizens.

#### Article 11.

Delegates of participants in the work of a council shall act in accordance with the procedures of the agencies and organizations that delegated them, and in accordance with mutual and general social interests and needs; they are responsible to the agency or organization that delegated them.

#### Article 12.

Concerning matters that they consider, social councils shall give opinions and proposals to participants in the work of the council and to responsible agencies and organizations, as well as to self-management organizations and communities that such opinions and proposals involve.

Participants in the work of a council, responsible agencies and organizations, and self-management organizations and communities that are not participants in the work of the council, shall consider the opinions and proposals of social councils in preparing and approving corresponding decisions.

Article 13.

Agencies and organizations of sociopolitical communities are obliged, within the scope of their responsibilities, and at the request of social councils, to give data, documentation and other information needed for the work of the council.

Self-management organizations and communities shall give to social councils, at their request, data, documentation and other information needed for the work of the council in so far as it is at their disposal.

Article 14.

The work of social councils is public,

A social council shall approve rules of order for its work.

The rules of order for the work of a social council shall determine the organization and manner of operations of the council, the manner for implementing open meeting principles in its work, and the manner for informing the public concerning the work of the council and concerning other questions of significance for the work of the council.

II. Social Councils of the Sociopolitical Community

Article 15.

Social councils of the sociopolitical community shall be established for one of more areas of social life.

Article 16.

Social councils of a sociopolitical community shall, in the performance of their functions, carry the initiative and consider fundamental questions related to the establishment and implementation of policy and preparation and execution of laws and other regulations and general acts, agreements, social agreements, and self-management contracts.

Article 17.

Participants in the work of the council of a sociopolitical community shall include the assembly of the sociopolitical community, the presidium of the sociopolitical community, the executive agency of the sociopolitical community, sociopolitical organizations, the economic chamber and other general associations, and scientific, specialized and other self-management organizations and communities as determined by the act on the establishment of the council passed on the basis of a prior agreement of participants in the work of the council.

Article 18.

The president or chairman of a social council of a sociopolitical community shall be elected by the council on the basis of an agreement by participants in the work of the council.

Article 19.

The executive agency of the assembly of a sociopolitical community and other authorized proposers of laws, other regulations and general acts, as well as administrative agencies of a sociopolitical community involved in preparing laws and other regulations and general acts and in their execution, shall consider the opinions and proposals of social councils of the sociopolitical community.

If the executive agency of the assembly of a sociopolitical community, or an administrative agency of a sociopolitical community involved in preparing laws, other regulations and general acts or in their execution, does not accept the opinion or proposal of a social council of the sociopolitical community, the executive agency shall inform the assembly of the sociopolitical community and other participants in the work of the council about this, and an administrative agency shall inform the executive agency of the assembly of the sociopolitical community.

Article 20.

Administrative agencies of a sociopolitical community within whose jurisdiction questions being considered at a session of a social council of a sociopolitical community fall, and specialized services of agencies and organizations that participate in the work of the social council, are obliged to carry out specialized services for the needs of the council and to provide it with necessary data, documentation and other information at their disposal.

III. Administrative Social Councils for Individual Administrative Areas or for Individual Administrative Agencies

Article 21.

By law or decision of a municipal assembly or other sociopolitical community, administrative social councils may be established for individual administrative areas or for individual administrative agencies whose activities are of special significance for the sociopolitical community or for associated labor, or for satisfying the everyday vital needs of the citizenry.

Article 22.

Administrative social councils for individual administrative areas or for individual administrative agencies shall consider in particular questions relating to the implementation of established policy and the execution of

laws and other regulations and general acts; they shall, at the initiative of participants in the work of the council, consider proposed regulations and general acts brought to them by administrative agencies, and proposed regulations and other general acts relating to their work. They shall consider conditions and ways for realizing the rights, obligations and interests of working people and citizens and self-management organizations and communities that are involved in the work of the administrative agency.

#### Article 23.

Participants in the work of social councils of administration for individual administrative areas or for individual administrative agencies include the assembly of a sociopolitical community, the executive agency of the assembly of the sociopolitical community, the administrative agency in whose area the social council has been established, sociopolitical organizations and other social organizations, the economic chamber and other general associations and other self-management organizations and communities determined in the act on the establishment of the council that has been approved on the basis of a prior agreement of the participants in the work of the council.

#### Article 24.

The president or chairman of an administrative social council for a particular administrative area or a particular administrative agency shall be elected on the basis of an agreement by participants in the work of the council.

#### Article 25.

Administrative social councils for individual administrative areas or for individual administrative agencies shall give opinions and proposals to administrative agencies in the area for which the councils have been organized.

Administrative agencies are obliged to consider the opinions and proposals of councils as indicated in point 1 of this article.

If an administrative agency does not accept the opinion or proposal of a social council indicated in point 1 of this article, and the matter under consideration is one concerning which that agency makes decisions within the scope of its responsibilities, the agency shall inform the executive agency of the assembly of the sociopolitical community regarding the reasons for not accepting the opinion or proposals, after which it shall make its decision independently.

If an administrative agency makes a decision that is not in harmony with an opinion or proposal of a social council as indicated in point 1 of this article, it shall so inform the council.

If an administrative agency does not accept an opinion or proposal from a social council as indicated in point 1 of this article, and the matter relates to a proposal about which an assembly or executive agency of an assembly of a sociopolitical community makes decisions, the agency shall inform the executive agency of the assembly of the sociopolitical community and the council concerning its reasons for not accepting the opinion or proposal.

Article 26.

An administrative agency in whose jurisdiction fall activities in the area in which a social council has been established shall provide specialized services for the needs of the council and provide it with necessary data, documentation and other information.

Part Two: Federal Social Councils

Article 27.

Federal social councils shall perform their functions while keeping foremost the common interests of the peoples and nationalities, working people and citizens in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the roles and responsibilities established by the Yugoslav Constitution for sociopolitical organizations in the federation, and the responsibilities of republics and autonomous provinces for their own development and for the development of the socialist community as a whole.

Article 28.

Federal social councils include: The Federal Social Council for Matters of Social Order, the Federal Social Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, and the Federal Social Council for International Relations.

Article 29.

The Federal Social Council for Matters of Social Order shall consider basic questions concerning the building and realization of the socialist self-management socioeconomic order and the sociopolitical system provided for by the Yugoslav Constitution.

Article 30.

The Federal Social Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy shall consider basic questions concerning the determination and implementation estimations of possibilities in connection with negotiations on the bases of the Yugoslav social plan and its fulfillment, as well as other questions of particular significance for economic development and economic policy.

#### Article 31.

The Federal Social Council for International Relations shall consider the implementation of principles in foreign policy and international relations of Yugoslavia and other significant questions in connection with the determination and implementation of Yugoslav foreign policy and relations with other nations and international organizations.

#### Article 32.

Participants in the work of federal social councils, in accordance with the agreement, include the Yugoslav Assembly, the Yugoslav Presidium, the Federal Executive Council, the LCY, the Social Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Trade Union Alliance, The Yugoslav Socialist Youth Alliance, The Alliance of Veterans of the Yugoslav War of National Liberation, the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, and the republics and autonomous provinces.

#### Article 33.

The president or chairman of a federal social council shall be elected by the council on the basis of an agreement among participants in the work of the federal social council.

The president or chairman of a federal social council shall call sessions of the council, propose the agenda of sessions and preside at sessions, see to the implementation of the decisions of the council, and perform other tasks as authorized by the council.

#### Article 34.

A federal social council shall have a coordinating committee.

Delegates in the coordinating committee shall be determined by participants in the work of the federal social council.

The coordinating committee shall see to the preparations of sessions of the federal social council, determine the manner in which the opinions of participants in the work of the federal social council are to be obtained, and which scientific, specialized and other organizations and communities and sociopolitical scientific, specialized and public figures are to be called upon to participate in the work of the federal social council, depending on the questions to be considered at a session of the council. It shall also perform other organizational activities as authorized by the council.

#### Article 35.

Federal social councils shall cooperate among themselves to coordinate their work and can hold joint sessions concerning particular questions that are on the agenda of a council session.

Article 36.

A federal social council shall have a secretary who shall be appointed by the council as nominated by the coordinating committee.

The secretary shall assist the president or chairman of the federal social council in organizing the work of the council.

Article 37.

The official who directs a federal administrative agency or a federal organization shall be involved in the work of a federal social council when the council is considering questions that fall within the jurisdiction of the agency or the organization that the official directs.

Article 38.

The specialized services of a participant in the work of federal social councils, and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations within whose jurisdiction matters fall that are being considered at a session of the council, are obliged at the request of the federal social council to perform specialized services for the needs of the council and to provide data, documentation and other information that is necessary for the work of the council, to the extent that such information is at its disposal.

Article 39.

Resources for the work of federal social councils shall be provided for in the federal budget.

Conditions for the operation of federal social council shall be provided for by the Federal Executive Council.

In order to assure self-management rights, obligations and responsibilities of workers in specialized services of federal social councils, provisions of the Law on the Bases of the State Administrative System and on the Federal Executive Council and Federal Administrative Agencies shall be applied.

Part Three: Transmittal and Concluding Provisions

Article 40.

Existing federal councils, including the Federal Council For Matters of Social Order, the Federal Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, and the Federal Council for International Relations, shall continue their work under the titles and with the positions and functions established by this law.

Federal social councils indicated in point 1 of this article are obliged to coordinate their organization and operating procedures with provisions of this law within a period of 3 months from the day it takes effect.

Article 41.

On the day this law takes effect, provisions of the Law on Federal Councils (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ No 66/74, 17/78 and 40/78), other than provisions relating to the Federal Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order, shall cease to be valid.

Article 42.

This law shall take effect 8 days after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

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## CONCERN FELT OVER LCY'S SOCIAL, ETHNIC MAKEUP IN CROATIA

## Report by Kovacevic

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1510, 16 Dec 79 pp 10, 11

[Article by Mladen Maloca: "Searching for the Reasons"]

[Text] An analysis of ideological-political and organizational questions concerning party activities in Croatia was performed as far back as last summer, following thoroughgoing consultations and visits to 59 opstina organizations, in which 80 percent of the members of the LC of Croatia are active. A special conference was also held recently to discuss exclusively the social and ethnic composition of the LC. Thus, a rather clear picture and almost the entire party organism was obtained, as were certain significant insights into overall party activity.

It was learned that a present the membership of the LC of Croatia is larger than ever (with more than 300,000 members). In terms of numbers, this is an impressive force, yet those in the republic leadership are not satisfied with mere numbers and have attempted to establish what kinds of things--strengths or weaknesses--these numbers conceal. It was thus quickly discovered that the question of composition is not a mere formality but rather a significant ideological-political question. This is so because, as was stated, "the social and ethnic structures express a definite situation and trend serving to 'establish the identity' of the LC and reveal something about its profile."

Few Blue-collar Workers.

It cannot be claimed, at least with respect to the social composition of the party, that this analysis revealed any new trends. On the contrary, it confirmed that the same relations among individual social groups continue to be reproduced. In other words, blue-collar workers continue to constitute one-third of party membership, their numbers increasing slowly and in some places even stagnating. The 1960's, when blue-collar workers in the LC amounted to 41 percent, remain a desirable and--for the time being--unreachable number. There was a negative assessment of the fact that existing

relations "are dominated by administrative personnel who are sectarian both toward blue-collar workers and creative professionals." Regardless of the fact that at present workers are (with 33.5 percent) the largest grouping in the LC of Croatia (followed immediately by professionals and managerial personnel--30.4 percent), their number is by no means adequate. This is the reason for the resolute stance expressed by Venceslav Kovacevic:

"For the LC to accomplish its historic role, i.e., to assert all the values of self-managing socialist development and to incorporate therein the ideology stemming from the historic interests of the working class, the direct producers and other creative socialist forces must be represented in the LC not only in terms of their number but, first of all, in terms of their influence and position in the development of self-managing socialist relations. The LC's admission policy and all other forms of activity must be used to change, i.e., improve its social structure in accordance with the social changes and processes that it inaugurates and initiates itself. In this sense, the question of its social structure is an essential ideological-political one. The social structure of the LC is complemented by the LC's reliance on those forces which have been interested in social progress from the very beginning and which, by their work and behavior, are vehicles of the struggle for the development of self-managing relations, these forces being primarily the direct producers in close conjunction with other subjective forces with a socialist orientation."

And while the debate on the social composition of the party moved along more or less well-known and trodden paths, on which one, as a rule, always encounters the same dilemmas (for example, what constitutes the working class today, or whether the quantitative participation of workers is more important than their actual ideological influence), the approach and focus of the inquiry involving the ethnic structure were capable of attracting attention. We say "we're capable" because, while the preparatory materials and Kovacevic's opening statement formulated the problem rather emphatically, the participants in the recent conference (with one or two exceptions), did not discuss this complex and always delicate question in a particularly fundamental manner. Hence the warning that we heard from Venceslav Kovacevic. He stated:

## An Apprehensive Approach

"It seems to me that the negative experience from the recent past has taught us to approach the ethnic composition of the LC of Croatia with apprehension, as a ery subtle ideological-political question, and not to discuss it in the same manner as any other area of party activity. It is necessary to 'smash' the reluctance to include the ethnic component in the lasting activities of the LC, because it is a very significant ideological-political question, and one of the essential conditions for the strengthening of brotherhood and unity."

Of course, this was the warning that is always present in preparations to open up this subject. In this context, one should vigorously oppose any linkage between questions of the ethnic structure of the LC of Croatia and "head counting" or--on the basis of ethnic representation in the LC of Croatia--erroneous conclusions as to whether a socialist orientation is held by one ethnic group more than by another. As Kovacevic stated, "All of our people, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, influence the development of social consciousness and Yugoslav communality, and we must discuss the ethnic structure only in this context."

It is true, however, that people in the LC of Croatia have for some time been pointing out the insufficient or disproportionate presence of the party in certain ethnic milieus, particularly in areas where the population is ethnically mixed. This had already been discussed a few years ago, yet only last summer was an attempt made to penetrate the essence of this situation. In this respect, it should also be mentioned that this effort coincides with the endeavor of the LC to be present in all social and work environments (such a consciousness is already strongly evident everywhere—this is the only way in which the party can accomplish its historic role given a pluralism of self-managing interests. Therefore, the ethnic and social structure should be regarded as an integral part of the overall class struggle and of the implementation of the programmatic orientation and concepts set forth in the provisions of the Constitution and Party Program.

From this perspective, they say in the LC of Croatia, the ethnic composition of the party points to the problem of the relative strength of LC's base in the various ethnic milieus with a view to facilitating the development of socialist substance therein. Of the many warnings, let us also mention the one that stresses the need for the discussions to take into account the ethnic structure as social intermediary. "...Because the members of each ethnic group are first of all workers, peasants, young people and women, i.e. all of those categories which were discussed during the discussions involving the social and demographic structure."

## A Marked Disproportion

When the discussion of the ethnic composition of the party in Croatia is isolation from the general discussions and the overall context, we come upon the key finding, expressed both in the analyses and at the conference at the Central Committee, of a marked disproportion and deviation from the ethnic structure of the population. This is especially evident in the ratio between Croatian and Serbian nationalities in the LC. While looking for the reasons for such a situation, people in certain opstinas have frequently expressed the opinion that the ethnic composition of the LC in their opstinas represents no problem whatsoever. With respect to this, Venceslav Kovacevic remarks:

"We do not pose this as a problem either, since today it really is not. Yet, if in our party activities we continue to neglect it, it could become one. Let us not forget that to this very day Croatian nationalists have not abandoned their thesis that Serbs exercise the dominant influence in Croatia, while the Croats are in an inferior position."

While emphasizing and discussing this complex and undoubtedly delicate question, people in the LC of Croatia warn that efforts should be made to overcome simplistic views on the question of ethnic structure. "The point is not to reduce the share of members of ethnic groups which are now more heavily represented in the LC of Croatia but rather to concentrate more or including members of ethnic groups whose share lags behind their share in the ethnic structure of the population."

If one can say so, this critique should be viewed in its positive context. Specifically, the LC has for years been making serious efforts to develop mass representation in its ranks and has achieved enviable results. Accordingly, members of all ethnic groups must be drawn into its ranks, not on account of some artificial balance but because of the fundamental demand and need of the time: for the party to be truly present in all, even the smallest, cells of society.

#### Statistical Material

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1510, 16 Dec 79 p 11

[Text] The ethnic structure of the LC of Croatia is characterized by a varied, disproportionate ethnic representation in relation to the ethnic structure of the population of Croatia: 5.6 percent of Croats are party members, 11.6 percent of Serbs. In Croatia, 1.9 percent of the population identify themselves ethnically as Yugoslavs, but 7.5 percent of these are in the LC of Croatia (27.1 percent of those declaring themselves as Yugoslavs).

This unfavorable ethnic structure of the LC of Croatia is even worse in some opstinas, without any trend toward improvement. For example, of the total population in Bjelovar opstina, 79.9 percent are Croats and 2.6 percent Serbs, while in the LC 4.7 percent of the members are Croats and 12.7 percent Serbs. Of the total population in Gospic opstina, 65 percent are Croats and 31.6 percent Serbs, while in the LC of Croatia 4.4 percent of the members are Croats, and 13.5 percent Serbs. Of the total population in Karlovac opstina, 67.8 percent are Croats and 26.6 percent Serbs, while in the LC of Croatia 6.5 percent of the members are Croats and 18.3 percent Serbs. Of the total population in Sisak opstina, 69.8 percent are Croats and 23.1 percent Serbs, while in the LC of Croatia 6.3 percent of the members are Croats and 16.4 percent Serbs.

In the past 20 years, the percentages of Croats and Serbs have slowly declined in the total number of members of the LC of Croatia. To be specific, the percentage of Croat members in the structure of the LC of Croatia fell from 68.6 percent in 1958 to 64.3 percent in 1978, while the percentage of Serb members decreased from 27.7 percent to 23.9 percent. These declines are only relative, however, because in the meantime the figures began to include ethnic Yugoslavs (in 1961) and ethnic Moslems (in 1970). Precisely these two seregories have "taken care of" the decline of Serbs and Croats (8.1 percent) in the ethnic structure of the LC of Croatia.

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#### DOLANC DISCUSSES KARDELJ'S WORK, MEMOIRS

AU241550 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 80 p 11 AU

[Text] Belgrade, 11 February, TANJUG--In a Ljubljana television documentary devoted to the struggle for the recognition of Yugoslavia between 1944 and 1957, Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke about the work of Edvard Kardelj and particularly about his book "Memoirs."

Dolanc also spoke about the as yet unpublished pages of Edvard Kardelj's great work. Numerous works and manuscripts left by Edvard Kardelj, especially in the field of the theory of socialism and self-management, but also-Dolanc said-in other fields: The socioeconomic and political self-managing system, the field of international relations in the international workers and communist movement, the building and the nature of power and the development of the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, work in the field of historiography, the national question, the role and the place of the Communist Party, the workers class, science, culture, social criticism and many others, are still unexplored and unprepared for publication in the form of collected works or even as sizeable chunks concerning one particular ambject.

#### Theoretical and Political Values

Work on that is still ahead of us. The tremendous wealth left us by Kardelj, the wealth of his published works and of the unpublished written words, constitutes a precious cultural-historical social treasury of all our peoples and nationalities, as well as of all the peoples of the world.

Such creative work by Edvard Kardelj has a special ideopolitical, theoretical and scientific value and significance for our society above all from the point of its further building and the directions of development, for Kardelj in his works not only illuminated the path of development but also theoretically and scientifically explained and worked out the foundations and the tangible forms of the further building of the Yugoslav self-managing socialist social community. In this way he enriched the theory and practice of socialism in general, and he put the Yugoslav community immeasurably in his debt.

From all that he left behind and that had not been previously published, the book, "The Struggle for the Recognition and Independence of New Yugoslavia 1944-1957," was prepared for his 70th birthday. The book is a kind of memoir for the 1944-1957 period, or rather Kardelj's reminiscences and testimony about times and events during a difficult period of the struggle of new Yugoslavia for its recognition, the protection of its independence and the direction of its development on the foundations and achievements won in the national liberation war and the socialist revolution.

Kardelj first expressed the idea and his thoughts on writing memoirs in 1975. From then on, and up to his last days, he talked several times with his associates and friends and expressed his thoughts, explaining what his memoirs should be like--above all in their contents, structure and nature--and which historical period in the development and activities of our revolutionary workers movement and the Communist Party, or rather the LCY, they should embrace. In addition, he himself directly worked on organizing the work; he outlined the contents and the structure of the memoirs, talked about the number of volumes and which period he would deal with in which volume, in which way he intended to describe his revolutionary social activities in the time in which he lived and worked and his participation in the events, as well as his views and testimony on what happened at certain historical periods; he directed associates on where and how to look for and collect historical materials and documents, how to collate them and prepare for his work.

Because of the exceptionally numerous engagements in 1977 and at the beginning of 1978, he did not begin his work on the memoirs. In the meanwhile, Kardelj's health condition was sometimes better and sometimes it deteriorated, and in the period when he felt better he worked on other matters, such as the "Directions of Development [of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management]" and congress documents, but not on his memoirs. Before the 11th LCY Congress, Kardelj said in a conversation that he decided to work intensively on writing his memoirs after the congress, which is to say until the end of 1978, and probably also in the following year (1979).

Although his health deteriorated after the 11th LCY Congress, he began immediately to work. He dictated his reminiscences in Slovene for the period from 1944 onward, which is to say from the arrival of the supreme staff in Vis, and he concluded with his visit and his participation at the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the October revolution and the world conference of the communist parties in Moscow in 1957. The dictation began in the middle of July and concluded at the beginning of September 1978.

Establishing the Facts

Dictating into a tape recorder, Kardelj in several places pointed out, warned and requested that his associates should check and confirm exact

dates of the several events, to confirm places and persons, to complete the text, explain the course of some events, check the facts and so forth. His office in Ljubljana "transcribed" the text from the tape, and his office in Belgrade translated it into Serbo-Croatian. The whole work was organized in such a way that it would be completed as quickly, fully and as well as possible, so that the text would in fact be prepared in such a way that Kardelj could work further; for after the editing, linking up the contents, drafting the titles an subtitles, supplement, explanations and other things, he was to read the text and insert his own additions. In other words, he was to authorize the arranged text, which anyway was his customary method of work.

[AU241855] After the new year 1979 (on 11 January), a part of the text of the memoirs prepared in this way was submitted to Kardelj. He checked it and on the evening of 2 February 1979, almost immediately before entering the hospital, he returned the text to associates in his office.

Here I want to stress, Stane Dolanc said, what sort of man Kardelj was, so that one would understand his view of himself and of his illness which he subordinated to his work until the end of his life, so that one can see his greatness and strength in his last struggle, too. Among other things this is shown by another fact: On 25 December 1978, Kardelj requested immediate preparation of notes and a chronology of events for the 1927-1941 and the 1941-1944 periods.

Kardelj had a worked-out (prepared) plan of his memoirs for the entire historical period of 30 years between 1927 and 1957, in three parts; before the war (1927-1941), during the war (1941-1944) and after the war (1944-1947). However, he managed to complete the third part only.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium decided that this last work by Kardelj be printed and it appointed an editorial committee which led the work and directed the associates in Kardelj's office to edit, or rather to arrange the style and the language of the text and prepared the second part of the volume. The committee at the same time decided that all the suggestions, remarks and requests to elaborate on individual questions and problems, made by Kardelj in writing or in talks with his associates, should be arranged in the form of special addenda, which is to say that they should not be inserted in the text of the "Memoirs." In that way we have preserved the original Kardelj text, and the other part, which is to say the addenda and footnotes in the book serve the reader only by way of illustrations, explanation or confirmation of what was dictated by Kardelj.

One should particularly stress that the addenda themselves are in fact Kardelj's. One half of the wordage of the addenda consists of excerpts and quotations from his works; they are his assessments, views on individual events, positions regarding the problems which the party and our peoples had to solve at that time, as well as quotations on how to proceed, what are our prospects and what is essential for the further development of our

self-managing society. All the rest provided in the addenda are facts and data. In this way one has satisfied Kardelj's requests, which are explicitly cited at the beginning of each addendum.

The "Memoirs" are in fact valuable historical documents and testimony of a historic period of an exceptionally difficult struggle of new Yugoslavia in which battle after battle had to be won in all fields to insure Yugoslavia's proper place in the world resulting from World War II and to win the victory for Yugoslavia's full independence, to preserve its freedom, the unity of its peoples and nationalities, its territorial integrity and other achievements of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution. The Yugoslav socialist revolution was popular, democratic and self-managing.

Without such a revolution--Kardelj pointed out and stressed it on several occasions--"the forms of self-managing democratic relations as were developed in Yugoslavia's postwar development could not have arisen. And not only that. Had Yugoslavia not been as it was, Stalin would not have assailed. Had Yugoslavia not been popular and self-managing, had Yugoslavia not been united and rallied around the party and Tito, it would not have been victorious and withstood Stalin's attack."

Open Mind, Objectivity

An open mind and objectivity, critical refinement and assessment of personalities and events, a critical attitude toward himself and his doings, not avoiding anything, and everything in pursuit of presenting as credibly and fully as possible the time and the historic period about which he writes--these are the basic characteristics and quality of Kardelj's narration in his book.

With the book, "The Struggle for the Recognition and Independence of New Yugoslavia 1944-1957," the Yugoslav and the world public have obtained a view, an analysis and a synthesis of the most important events in the historical period, which in many ways was indeed fateful for the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, not only in their efforts and their struggle to gain and insure an equal place in the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the national liberation movement and the struggle they waged, but also in preserving the freedom and independence of new Yugoslavia, securing the achievements realized in the national liberation war and socialist revolution, and establishing democratic, equal realtions of cooperation, realtions of mutual respect, trust, free dialog, free choice of the road of internal social development and so forth in the international workers movement and in relations among the socialist states and the peoples of the present day world in general.

At the same time, the book enriches the historical writing of the 20th century with a testimony of a man who lived and worked in this time and who was a direct participant in the events about which he wrote, Stane Dolanc said.

#### BRIEFS

'PREPOROD' DEVIATIONS ANNOUNCED—At today's seminar of the clergy of the Islamic community from the opstinas of Zenica, Zavidovici, Zepce and Busovaca, held in Zenica, the participants were informed about the deviations in the editorial policy of PREPOROD, organ of the Islamic community. The clergy condemned the previous editorial stiff of this paper, and especially the individuals, who, with articles and declarations at religious meetings, acted from positions which are contrary to the interests of our society and [to the interests of] the members of the Islamic community in it. It was pointed out that the cooperation of the Association of Islamic Elders with the social-political organizations and organs of these opstinas is good, and is especially reflected in the activity of the Socialist Alliance of Working People. [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 80 p 6]

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